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THE ARCADIAS OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE DIANAS OF JORGE DE MONTEMAYOR AND GASPAR
GIL POLO: RELIGIOUS THEMES AND THE LANGUAGE
OF LOVE.

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1977
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OF THE DIANAS OF JORGE DE MONTEMAYOR AND GASPAR
GIL POLO: RELIGIOUS THEMES AND THE LANGUAGE OF
LOVE

by

John de Oliveira e Silva

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ABSTRACT

A close study of the Dianas of Jorge de Montemayor (ca. 1559) and Gaspar Gil Polo (1564) illuminates some aspects of the Arcadias of Sir Philip Sidney (ca. 1580-86). These Spanish pastoral romances, written during the heat of religious controversy on the peninsula, employ the contexts of pastoral and the language of love to adduce themes of some philosophical significance. The Dianas, further, diverge in several important respects. Montemayor's lovers are prone to irrational activity, to jealous suspicions, and to bouts of madness. Above all, they are victimized by the power of love and remedied only by the essentially magical intervention of Felicia, their sage intercessor. On the contrary, Polo reaffirms the integrity of the human will and the latent rational powers of man while subordinating the glory and importance of love. Nevertheless, like their counterparts in the Diana, Polo's lovers are also dependent upon an intermediating agency for the achievement of content. Polo's Felicia, however, instructs the lovers in the essence of true living and

loving, while shunning all magical recourses. Since Felicia's role in the DE is in some ways emblematic of that of the Roman Catholic Church as man's intercessor in the world, it is not surprising that, while the Diana was suppressed, bowdlerized, and placed on an Index, Polo's romance encountered little apparent opposition. The DE is a work in accord with Philip II's counter-reformational fervor and the orthodox spirit following upon the closing of the Council of Trent in 1563.

One need not cite Sidney's various links to the peninsula, his familiarity with the Spanish language, and his translations from the Diana to point out his interest in some of the themes raised and disputed in the Dianas. One of these is the relationship between the lover and the force of love. Sidney demeans neither the power of the lover, in the fashion of Montemayor, nor the glory of love, in the fashion of Polo, for, in the Arcadias, love is as hellish or divine as the lover makes it. Another such theme involves the relationship between the lover and the deity. In Sidney's romance, the individual is neither left alone without providential guidance (as in the Diana) nor dependent on the guidance furnished by an interceding agency (as in the DE). For Sidney, divine providence is invisible, but not absent, and it works in harmony with the solitary and virtuous human will. It is for this reason that the best lovers in the Arcadias

are able to prevail against the most hideous forces, and this without recourse to an intervening agency of any sort. As in the Dianas, true love involves many hardships and much suffering, but, in Sidney's romance, these are a consequence, not merely of the frustration intrinsic to love, but of the providential scheme, for God reserves the severest test for the truest lovers. In affirming, then, the integrity of the human intellect without denying the efficacy of providence, Sidney has followed the course charted by the moderate Reformers of his time and reconciled two contradictory philosophical strains in the pastoral romance tradition that he inherited.

This Dissertation is Dedicated to
my Beloved Family,
Who
Nurtured,
Encouraged,
And
Inspired it.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTELLECTUAL THEMES IN EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY IBERIAN PASTORAL

Although Sir Philip Sidney's interest in love themes and in their religious application has received extensive study, relatively little attention has been paid to the Iberian pastoral tradition as a background for the understanding of these themes in his Arcadias.¹ Even many writers known for their familiarity with Iberian materials² have tended to underestimate the vast and seminal impact exerted by the Los siete libros de la Diana (ca. 1559) of Jorge de Montemayor³ and the Diana enamorada (1564) of Gaspar Gil Polo.⁴ Other commentators have either ignored this tradition altogether⁵ or inclined towards Italian sources, particularly the various Trattati di amore of the age.⁶ Since, however, evidence advanced by Sidney's contemporaries indicates that the Arcadias were affected by the Dianas, and, since two of his most eminent textual editors have acknowledged Spanish analogues throughout the Sidney canon,⁷ it may be profitable to reconsider his romances from the point of view of the Iberian pastoral romance

tradition, a tradition which has gone largely unstudied despite its ready availability and apparent pertinence to Sidney. Although only one of various traditions that were available, Iberian pastoral did contribute a structurally and thematically sophisticated form, the pastoral romance, a genre in which Sidney apparently took some interest. The English romancer would probably not have disagreed with the contention of Cervantes' *Cura* (*DQ*, 1605) that the *Diana* had "la honra de ser primero en semejantes libros."⁸ The following is a brief sketch of the intellectual and literary milieu from which the *Dianas* emerged.

Early sixteenth century Iberian pastoral,⁹ like much pastoral generally, deals largely with love, particularly with discontented love, and sometimes reflects renaissance love theory. For example, Montemayor's *Diana* contains neoplatonic elements¹⁰ and draws heavily, as does Cervantes' *La Galatea* (1585), on the *Dialoghi d'Amore* (ante 1521) of Leone Ebreo, the Iberian Jew.¹¹ One feature, then, of early sixteenth century Iberian pastoral is its pervasive interest in love. Another is its topicality. Allusions to particular areas in Spain and Portugal and to contemporary social problems abound in many of the works of the Iberian pastoralists.¹² The pastoral convention and its traditional associations with love, that is, provided the Iberian poet with a most suitable

vehicle for the expression of certain personal convictions which may have been otherwise difficult to air in the suppressive atmosphere of sixteenth century Spain and Portugal. The traditional conjunction of meanings in the word pastor, e.g., shepherd and priest, provided a further philosophical significance.¹³ Some of these pastoralists, therefore, did not hesitate to search into the philosophical implications of love relationships. What sometimes results is a view of man and God that is not in conformity with Church dogma. This penchant for philosophical speculation, expressed in the language of love, is a third feature of Iberian pastoral.

From what we have seen, it is not surprising to encounter an assortment of religious themes in sixteenth century Iberian pastoral; theology was one of the preoccupations of the age. Despite, however, the efforts of Philip II (1556-98) in Spain and, later (post 1580), in Portugal, the peninsula was not a place of religious orthodoxy during the century. Catholic Reform, initiated by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (d. 1517), was widespread and had been in operation even before Luther had broken from the Church.¹⁴ Approximately six Reform movements were active in Spain, of which the Erasmists were the most influential.¹⁵ Philip's plans for national orthodoxy, further, were aided neither by the precedent set by his predecessor, Charles V (1517-56), who welcomed Erasmian

ideas,¹⁶ nor by the large number of Reform works that had entered the country.¹⁷

The Papacy and its defenders principally objected to the Reformers' inclination to diminish the importance of the sacred ceremonies and of Good Works. There was a general uneasiness with any thinking that allowed for a direct relationship between man and God, implicitly denying the intermediary office of the Church. Philip's accession is accompanied by a new suppressive attitude to the literary text. Fray Luis de Granada's Guía de pecadores (1556) and book on prayer were only two of many works that were searched, scrutinized, and eventually suppressed (in 1559). It is significant that, in order for them to be approved, Granada revised these works in a very obvious manner. The revised version stresses ritual and underplays mental prayer far more than the original.¹⁸ The Inquisition was most preoccupied with the role of the Church, as opposed to that of the individual will, in personal salvation.

It is understandable, though, of course, hardly defensible, that such obviously theological works as Granada's two pieces and the works of Erasmus and Juan de Valdés should have been suppressed, but why did the Inquisition occupy itself with such seemingly idyllic works as the eclogues of Bernardim Ribeiro (ca. 1482-ca. 1552) and Cristóvão Falcão (ca. 1518-ca. 1554)? We have already mentioned that a traditional precedent existed for the

consideration and repudiation of social, clerical, and political abuses from within the pastoral form. Had not Petrarch (1304-74) assailed papal corruption in his third and seventh eclogues?¹⁹ Had not Battista Spagnuoli (1448-1516) (Shakespeare's "good old Mantuan," LLL, IV.ii.91) even more viciously and mercilessly attacked the same abuses in his seventh to his tenth eclogues? The very term pastor, in addition to what we have seen, resonated with controversy. Is not every man his own pastor or priest? Or does man have access to a divinely installed agency which intermediates between him and the Deity? The problem was also capable of being posed in another way. Is not Jesus, who is, after all, the Shepherd of us all, the only true priest? Cannot and should not man have direct access to the truest Pastor, God Himself? Such questions obviously ushered in and implied a bevy of assumptions about the limitations of human reason and the immanence and transcendence of the Godhead, assumptions that were bitterly discussed during the sixteenth century and which will be seen to play a significant part in the works under consideration in this study. In addition to these modes of theological suggestiveness, the green world of pastoral allowed for a certain creative breadth, on the basis of which a certain heterodoxy could be posed, explored, and yet masked at the same time.²⁰ Indeed, as one student of pastoral has pointed out, the pastoral form lent itself to

the expression of ideas on virtually anything.²¹ It is therefore not surprising that the Catholic Establishment looked upon it with some distrust. The Thomist Giasone di Nores (1587) attacked the form as incapable of yielding moral enlightenment (against Guarini), while such English critics as William Webbe (1586) and George Puttenham (1589) argued to the contrary. The Establishment was probably also suspicious of the curious affinity that a large number of Reformers had shown for pastoralism. Had not Theocritus been translated in 1531 by the Lutheran Elius Eobarnus of Hesse (1488-1540) and been required, after 1545, of all Greek students at the University of Wittenberg?²² One, therefore, should not be surprised that the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions showed as much interest in the work of the Iberian pastoralists of the sixteenth century as they did.

An undercurrent of bitter rage, concealed within the ambiguous language of pastoral, characterizes much of the work of these pastoralists. One noteworthy example is the eclogue "Montano" of Francisco Sá de Miranda (1481-1558). The work, in redondilhas, opens with Silvestre's questioning Montano about his recent withdrawal from humanity, from his flock, and from himself. Montano replies that he has withdrawn because in his former state he was unable to express his deepest convictions. He would rather be in this wilderness than live in Portugal, where one is prohibited from promulgating the truth:

. . . este mundo é tal
 que é melhor cá nos desertos
 sofrer e calar o mal
 que descobrir os segretos
 deste nosso Portugal.²³

Montano proceeds to paint a horrible but generalized picture of suffering and death. The language is, despite the specific place references, generalized and abstract:

. . . vês levantadas
 gentes mesmo contra gentes,
 com as vontades danadas,
 sem respeito de inocentes,
 com as almas condenadas.
 (I, 292)

A picture of greed, injustice, and confusion emerges:

Tempo é de opiniões
 de pastores nao discretos;
 vão mil grandes confusões,
 que, se buscas passos certos,
 a cada passo há ladrões.
 E o que é pior do que isto,
 que não se querem encobrir.
 O furto é de todos visto,
 e não-nos vejo punir!
 (I, 293)

Those in authority are most responsible for this situation:

. . . esses sátrapas maiores
 que governam grandes prados,
 usam tanto dos cajados,
 que são lobos, não pastores,
 por nossos grandes pecados.
 (I, 294)

Montano indicates that the only hope is divine vengeance:

E porem Deus, aonde está,
 também da suas pancadas
 a quem não vive bem cá. . . .

 Que a vingança divinal
 tarde ou cedo, aparece.
 A quem fez mal, faz-lhe mal;
 de ponto nenhum lhe esquece
 por ser a todos igual.
 (I, 294-95)

To tell the truth is to brave great peril, and to promulgate the Holy Word is to be branded a heretic:

. . . dizer a verdade
livremente, sem engano,
traz consigo tanto dano,
que pode tanto a maldade
que faz mal ao desengano.
Quem falar pontos devidos
os que Deus quis e mandou,
o tal logo brásfemou;
que reprender aos perdidos
a muitos santos matou.

(I, 297)

The guilty are those who, though dressed in the robes of purity, conspire against the innocent:

Assi vivem sem vergonha
vestidos de mansidão,
mas dentro no coração
anda escondida a peçonha
que por mezinha nos dão.

Tudo é contra os piquenos!²⁴
Destas leis tais arrenego!

(I, 298)

Whatever abuses, or atrocities, were taking place on the peninsula, Sá's recourse to the pastoral form allowed him to make a generalized indictment of them without, presumably, incurring any personal peril. As another Iberian pastoralist, Cristóvão Falcão, intimates, in the final lines of his equally puzzling eclogue, Crisfal (publ. 1554), the genre allowed for the expression of a level of material which mundane minds are unable to decipher:

Dizem que foi seu intento
de escrevê-lo em tal lugar
pera, por tempo, se algar
onde baixo pensamento
lhe não pudesse chegar.²⁵

Falcão, however, was in error; the Inquisition was not above searching into Iberian pastoral texts for evidence of heterodoxy and heresy. His lengthy eclogue and two works of Bernardim Ribeiro, the romance Menina e moça and a set of five eclogues, all of which were published in Ferrara, in 1554, by Abraço Usque, were immediately prohibited. It was not until three years later that an approved, altered, and probably posthumous edition of Ribeiro's romance appeared in Portugal (Évora), where it was published by André de Burgos.²⁶ It is also interesting that Abraço was the brother of Samuel Usque, who, having fled to Italy from Portugal during the Maneline persecution of the Jews in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, published in the same city, Ferrara, one year prior to the Ribeiro publication, his Consolação às tribulações de Israel, a poignant account of the suffering of the Jews and of other biblical themes. Usque's form? the pastoral dialogue.²⁷ This conjunction of political and religious heterodoxy, Hebraism, and the pastoral form may account for the interest manifested by the Inquisition in the pastoral form by the fifth and sixth decades of the sixteenth century.²⁸ The New Christians, it must be admitted, were indeed inclined to religious activity, such as revivalism, prophesyings, and Messianism, that had been denounced by the Church.²⁹ Consequently, one of the admitted objectives

of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal was to expunge all "judaizing" material from literary texts; any writer thought to be of Jewish background or of having heterodox inclinations was harassed and sometimes persecuted.

A discussion of the repressive atmosphere in Portugal and Spain during the first six decades of the sixteenth century must precede a consideration of the Diana, for Montemayor was apparently deeply affected by and responsive to his times. He would have interested the Inquisitors not only because of his friendship with Sá de Miranda, to whom he wrote an autobiographical epistle, and with Ribeiro, whose metrics he seems to have known and emulated, but also because he was considered to be a New Christian whose interest in the Old Testament was too intimate to be looked upon casually.³⁰ Born and raised in Portugal as Jorge de Montemôr (in Montemôr o Velho), he manifested from an early date an absorbing interest in religious themes.³¹ Closely associated with the Emperor Charles V, for whom he may have functioned as court musician, Montemayor distinguished himself at an early age with the writing of the Diálogo espiritual (ante 1548), dedicated to John III of Portugal, who, like Charles V, was, if not an Erasmist himself, most receptive to some aspects of Erasmism and to moderate reform. This work, in two books, is essentially a dialogue between a courtier and a hermit on various theological questions, two of which — on divine immanence and

transcendence and on man's capacity to work out his salvation -- emerge in the Diana, as well. This theological interest is still in evidence in 1548 when he dedicates to Maria, the daughter of Charles V and sister to Philip II, a moral commentary on the Eighty-Sixth Psalm.³² Subsequently, in 1554, his Cancionero was produced and dedicated to the princes of Portugal. Four years later, this work was followed by a continuation, El segundo cancionero espiritual, whose Erasmian elements must be attributed to more than Montemayor's brief residence in Flanders and contact with Dutch thinkers.³³ Whatever the reasons, all of his devotional works were placed on the Index of 1559 (the publication date of the Diana) by the Grand Inquisitor, Archbishop Fernando Valdés.³⁴ Also published in the Cancionero was a Devota exposición del psalmo Miserere mei, Deus which, possibly based on Savonarola's meditation on the same psalm, may deserve large credit for the suppression of Montemayor's devotional works.³⁵ The Diana received a different fate. Whereas the Portuguese Inquisitors flatly prohibited the entire romance from 1581 to 1624, the somewhat more lenient Spanish Inquisitors suppressed only the explicitly religious works. So unpalatable, however, was the work to the Catholic Establishment that a Cistercian monk, Bartolomé Ponce, took it upon himself to rewrite the entire work in 1580, transposing it a lo divino.

Literary freedom, moreover, at the end of the sixth decade of the sixteenth century in Spain and Portugal, was declining rapidly. The relatively liberal and humanistic kings of Spain and Portugal, Charles V and John III, to both of whom Montemayor was directly linked, had stepped down or expired, in 1556 and 1557, respectively. These magistrates were succeeded by two unusually rigorous enforcers of Catholic orthodoxy, Philip II of Spain and Henry, the Archbishop of Évora, who served as heir-presumptive for five years until the unstable and fanatically religious young king Sebastian entered early adolescence. Another ominous event was the accession in 1555 of Pope Paul IV, who was to serve until 1559 as "the most inflexible of inquisitors."³⁶ Further, beginning with the autumn of 1558, the Spanish book trade became subject to close scrutiny and was required to submit to strict regulation. It is in this context that Archbishop Valdés enforced his punitive, though not very inclusive, Index of prohibited books, the very Index on which Montemayor's devotional works were placed.³⁷ Even more ominously, Philip, in the very same year, 1559, ordered all Spanish students at Louvain to return home within four months. Later, he extended the decree to include students in the Low Countries as well. Finally, another decree forbade all study in foreign universities generally, with the exception of Naples, Bologna, and Coimbra.³⁸ Religious intolerance rises

steadily. In 1558, the Spanish Inquisition inquires into and suppresses all vestiges of "Lutheran" propaganda in Valladolid.³⁹ Even the folklorist, Juan de Mal Lara (1524-71), was denounced, in 1561, for a congratulatory ode he had written several years earlier on the occasion of the elevation to a canonry of the prominent Erasmian theologian, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, who was later condemned, probably unjustly, as a Lutheran and burned in effigy. Many other instances of such suppression can be cited. Suffice it to say that, except for the undeviatingly orthodox, the Iberian peninsula was a difficult and dangerous place in which to live. It is therefore not surprising that the Diana, which emerges from and embodies the crises of the age, underwent the scrutiny that it did.

Some facet of the controversial nature of the Diana may be adduced in a much discussed passage in the Don Quijote (I, 165-66), the scene in which the Cura makes his appearance to examine and expurgate the Don's library. He turns first to the Diana. Although finding the romance generally acceptable, he takes major exception to one particular section and demands that it be omitted:

Y pues comenzamos por La Diana de Montemayor, soy de parecer que no se queme, sino que se le quite todo aquello que trata de la sabia Felicia y de la agua encantada, y casi todos los versos mayores, y quédesele en hora buena la prosa, y la honra de ser primero en semejantes libros.

Of, in fact, the three parts of the Diana, only the Diana

enamorada of Gaspar Gil Polo is kept and approved in its original form: ". . . la de Gil Polo se guarde como si fuera del mesmo Apolo. . ." (I, 166). The conventional reading of this episode is based on the assumption that the tastes of the Cura are indistinct from those of Cervantes himself.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it is possibly significant that the Cura has selected for deletion one of the more theologically controversial scenes in the Diana, for Felicia's role is that of an agency that intercedes between man and the divine. Herein, indeed, lies one of the prime differences between the Dianas, for Polo transforms considerably the function and significance of Felicia. His work completed one year after the adjournment of the Council of Trent, Polo is, according to this reading, closely identified with the principles of Post-Tridentine orthodoxy. From the first to the third Dianas, then, emerges a major disparity with regard to the nature of man and the role of providence, a disparity that will be shown to be reflected and explored in Sidney's Arcadias. One need hardly cite as evidence of the English writer's interest in and commitment to theological themes his translation of Du Plessis Mornay's La Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne (completed and published in 1587 by Arthur Golding), his version of the first forty-three Psalms of David (ca. 1585), and his lost translation of Du Bartas' La Semaine ou Création du Monde. Nor need reference be made to Sidney's friendship

and correspondence with Hubert Languet (1518-81), a moderate on theological matters, though a vocal critic of Church corruption. It is also improbable that such a prominent foe of Spanish imperialism as Sidney would not have been interested in the suppression that was visited upon Iberian writers during the sixteenth century. It may, therefore, be profitable to reconsider some of the theological implications of Sidney's love themes in the Arcadias from the point of view of the Iberian pastoral precedent. To do so, we shall first have to examine Sidney's link with the peninsula and with its literature.

NOTES

¹For the text of the Old Arcadia (hereafter OA), I have used the The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973). For most of the readings of the New Arcadia (hereafter NA) and the other prose, I have relied on The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1969). For all the poems and eclogues, I have used The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford, 1962). Wherever possible, I have based my citations on the Robertson and Ringler texts. Throughout the study, I have abbreviated Astrophil and Stella as A&S and Certain Sonnets as CS. The other prose has been abbreviated as Works (from the Feuillerat edition). Sidney's dates are 1554-86.

²See, for example, Walter R. Davis and Richard Lanham, Sidney's Arcadia (New Haven, 1965), p. 50.

³My text is Jorge de Montemayor, Los siete libros de la Diana, ed. Francisco López Estrada (Madrid, 1970). Wherever appropriate, I have used the abbreviation D for the Diana. Montemayor's dates are 1520?-61.

⁴My text is Gaspar Gil Polo, Diana enamorada, ed. Rafael Ferreres (Madrid, 1962). Wherever appropriate and convenient, I have used the abbreviation DE for the Diana enamorada. Polo's dates are the subject of some controversy. His birthdate is unknown, and he is thought to have died somewhere between 1585 and 1591. Throughout the study, I have referred to this writer not by his entire surname, Gil Polo, but by Polo alone, a form that has found general acceptance in scholarly circles. Polo's DE is the second continuation of Montemayor's D. I have not made use of the first continuation, the Diana (1564) of Alonso Perez, because of its widely acknowledged lesser stature as a source book of renaissance ideas and its lesser apparent pertinence to Sidney.

⁵See Mark Rose, Heroic Love (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 37-41, and David Kalstone, Sidney's Poetry: Contexts and Interpretations (New York, 1965), pp. 60-101.

⁶Note Judith M. Kennedy's unlikely argument that Sidney's NA, following the precedent of D, IV, is based on "Neoplatonic philosophic ideals": A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's "Diana" and Gil Polo's "Enamoured Diana" (Oxford, 1968), p. xxxvii. See also Walter R. Davis, p. 69. Such a lack of critical commentary on Iberian pastoral may account for the attribution to Montemayor of Polo's DE (as a source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona) by Geoffrey Bullough, in his Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), I, 225.

⁷Ringler, pp. xxiv, xxv, 411, 432-34, and Robertson, pp. xx, 423, 431.

⁸Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, 8 vols. (Madrid, 1964), I, 166. Part One appeared in 1605, and Part Two in 1615.

⁹Most of the principal Spanish and Portuguese poets of the early and middle of the sixteenth century experimented with the form, often with great innovation. These include Bernardim Ribeiro (ca. 1482-ca. 1552), Francisco Sá de Miranda (1481-1558), Garcilaso de la Vega (ca. 1501-36), Cristóvão Falcão (ca. 1518-ca. 1554), and Luís Vaz de Camões (ca. 1524-80).

¹⁰Adequate studies of this theme are found in the introduction to Enrique Moreno Baez' edition of the Diana (Madrid, 1955) and in D. H. Darst's monograph, "Renaissance Platonism and the Spanish Pastoral Novel," Hispania, 52 (1969), 384-92.

¹¹D, 194-201. The Dialoghi were available in Spanish translation by 1568, although Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's translation did not appear until 1590. For a recent discussion of the textual history of the Dialoghi, see José V. de Pina Martins, "Livros quincentistas sobre o amor: apostila bibliográfica: Dialoghi di Amore," Archivos do Centro Cultural Portugues (Paris, 1969), I, 80-102. Ebreo's dates are 1460-ca. 1521. His surname may have been Abravanel or Abarbanel.

¹²The D abounds in localized place references. Not only are we informed of the location in Spain of Sireno's wanderings, but we are taken to Portugal, and to Montemayor's very birthplace, in the seventh book of the work. See also T. A. Perry, "Ideal Love and Human Reality in Montemayor's La Diana," PMLA, 84 (1969), 228.

¹³Vergil's Fourth Eclogue supplied a classical precedent for this interpretation. A useful summary of some of the traditional attitudes to the pastor can be found in Peter V. Marinelli, Pastoral (London, 1971), p. 10. Laura D. Calvert has prepared an interesting monograph on the conjunction of pastor and amador in her "An Etymological Basis for the Pastor-Amador Equation," Romance Notes, 11 (1969), 201-28. Pastor, finally, is one of Fray Luis de León's (ca. 1527-91) names for God in his De los nombres de Cristo (1583).

¹⁴Roland H. Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (Boston, 1956), p. 131.

¹⁵There is a useful discussion of this in Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition: The Castilian Mind in Literature from "El Cid" to Calderón, 4 vols. (Madison, 1968), III, 154-72. See also Marcel Bataillon's summary of Erasmism in Spain in Erasmus y España, trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico, 1966), p. 802.

¹⁶Among Erasmus' supporters in Spain were the Emperor Charles V himself, his secretary Alfonso de Valdés, and the Inquisitor General Manrique. Erasmus' works underwent "scrutiny" in 1527 in Valladolid and were approved until 1557, two years before the approximate publication of the Diana, when they began to be regarded with disfavor. See Green, III, 158. In his História da literatura portuguesa (Porto, 1957), António José Saraiva sketches the influence of Erasmus in Portugal, citing his visit to Portugal in 1533 to serve in the capacity of professor, his close friendship with Damião de Góis (who was partly Flemish), and the presence of his works in the personal library of Queen Catarina (p. 173).

¹⁷Spanish translations of Erasmus' works abounded in Spain (especially between 1527 and 1532), and, in 1525, three boatloads of books by Luther himself were impounded in a port in Granada. See Green, III, 164 and Bainton, 132.

¹⁸Green, III, 157. Granada's dates are 1504-88.

¹⁹Eclogue III shows Pope Clement "wantoning with the shameless of a line of pontifical shepherds, a figure allegorical of the corruption of the Church" (quoted from W. W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York, 1959), p. 22. The Babylonian Captivity of the Church is the subject of Petrarch's seventh eclogue.

²⁰See Renato Poggioli's discussion of allegorical pastoral in The Oaten Flute (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 16-20.

²¹"The pastoral poem became for generations a standard medium to express the poet's thoughts and feelings on almost any topic. . . . There was in fact no theme to which the Neo-Latin poets were not ready to adapt pastoral."

W. Leonard Grant, Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1965), p. 66. This controverts Professor Walter Raleigh's comment that "love in vacuo is the beginning and end of the pastoral romance proper" (quoted from W. W. Greg, p. 154).

²²W. Leonard Grant, p. 154. Grant also points out that Mantuan's poems were used as textbooks of Latin poetry in European schools from 1503 to the eighteenth century (p. 126).

²³Francisco Sá de Miranda, Obras completas, ed. M. Rodrigues Lapa, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1960), I, 290. The following quotations are taken from this edition.

²⁴Sá goes on to adduce three causes of this crisis: political and religious agitators, the falling away of Christian virtue, and the exploitation of the poor (I, 299). His very last lines, finally, indicate that the entire story has not been disclosed:

"Ora canso de falar
 não te quero mais dizer,
 porque dizem que o calar
 moderado, sem falar,
 vem de mui grande saber."
 (I, 300)

²⁵Quoted from Líricas portuguesas, ed. José Régio (Lisbon, 1967), p. 123.

²⁶This latter edition remained the official version and the basis for all subsequent editions in Portugal, 1645 and thereafter, until 1923, when Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos based her Obras de Bernardim Ribeiro e Cristovam Falcão on the Ferrara version.

²⁷The travels of the Usque family parallel quite closely the earlier travels of another prominent Iberian Jewish family, the Abravanel, from whom the very influential and seminal philosopher-poet, Leone Ebreo, is thought to have emerged. Montemayor also moved from his birthplace in Portugal, to Spain, and eventually to Italy, where he spent his final years.

²⁸Bernardim Ribeiro was also considered to be of Jewish descent and has been associated with Leone Ebreo. See Saraiva, pp. 232-33. Possible numerological significance has been ascribed to Ribeiro's metrical forms by Rachel Bromberg, in Three Pastoral Novels (New York, 1970), p. 106 n.

²⁹Bainton, p. 131.

³⁰On Montemayor's New Christian ancestry, see López Estrada, pp. xiv-xv, and Bataillon, p. 608. On his friendship with Ribeiro, see Hugo A. Rennert, The Spanish Pastoral Romances (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 15 n. On his friendship with Sa de Miranda, see López Estrada, pp. x-xi, and Rennert, p. 20.

³¹López Estrada, p. xi:
"Desde la infancia el poeta nos declara que se aficionó a leer la Sagrada Escritura, y que su estancia en los palacios no le apartó de esta piadosa costumbre."

³²Esposición moral sobre el salmo LXXXVI (Alcalá, 1548). This interest in the Psalms was shared by various reformational figures. Luther's first lectures in 1513-15 were on the Psalms, which he took up in numerical sequence.

³³The full title of the first Cancionero was Las obras de George de Montemayor, repartidas en dos libros (of which the first book was made up of profane verses, and the second, of devotional verses).

³⁴These events are summarized by López Estrada, pp. xlv-xlvi. Montemayor's devotional works were prohibited again in 1583 by Cardinal Quiroga.

³⁵See Marcel Bataillon, Une Source de Gil Vicente et de Montemór: La Meditation de Savonarole sur le Miserere (Lisbon, 1936).

³⁶Green, IV, 138.

³⁷*Ibid.*, IV, 138-39. The chief Indices of the Spanish Inquisition in the sixteenth century appeared in 1547, 1551, 1554, 1559, 1583, and 1584. The history of the Spanish Index is treated by Henry Kamen, in The Spanish Inquisition (New York, 1965), pp. 94-104.

³⁸Green, IV, 139 and 139 n.

³⁹Kamen, p. 82. Kamen indicates that thirty-nine cases of alleged Lutheranism were reviewed by the Spanish Inquisition before 1558, one year before the approximate publication of the D. An illuminating account of the first day in 1559 in which Archbishop Valdés' Inquisition went into operation can be found in Cecil Roth, The Spanish Inquisition (New York, 1964), pp. 168-69.

⁴⁰Kennedy, pp. xvii and xxii, and López Estrada, pp. xlviii-xlix.

CHAPTER TWO

SIDNEY AND THE DIANAS: LINKS AND ANALOGUES

There are several reasons to believe that Sidney had interest in, and some access to, the peninsula. First, various contemporary accounts of his use of the Diana have survived. In 1599, John Hoskyns wrote:

For the web, as it were, of his story, he followed three, Heliodorus in greeke, Sanazarus Arcadia in Itallian, and Diana de montemaioir in spanish.¹

In 1607, further, Gervase Markham justifies, in the first part of The English Arcadia, his close imitation of Sidney by claiming "were our age but blest with his living breath, he would himselfe confesse the honie hee drew both from Heliodorus, and Diana."² Finally, between 1614 and 1620, in the dedication (to Fulke Greville) of his translation of the Diana, Thomas Wilson argues that Sidney was directly influenced by Montemayor:

Sr. Phillipp Siddney did very much affect and imitate the excellent Author there of, whoe might well tearme his booke Diana (as the Sister of Apollo, & the twinn borne wth him) as his Arcadia . . . might well have had the name of Phoebus, for never was our age lightned with

two Starres of such high and eminent witt,
 as are the bookes of these two excellling
 Authors, wch doe resemble one an other as
 the Sonne & the Moone doth, but with this
 contrariety, that as y^e Moone takes her
 light from the Sonne: soe heere this Sonne
 taking some light from this Moone grewe much
 more resplendent then that, from whence it
 had it.²

Further, two of Sidney's most eminent textual editors
 have concurred with the view advanced by a number of
 commentators⁴ that Sidney was not unaware of the Dianas.⁵
 A review of certain events in Sidney's life will indicate
 that these assertions are not at all far-fetched.

Sidney was tied to the Iberian peninsula in various
 ways. Born during the final years of Queen Mary's reign,
 he was the godson of Philip II of Spain, the consort-King
 of England until 1558.⁶ Sidney's family had Spanish
 connections.⁷ His father, Henry, participated in the
 embassy that went to Spain to fetch Philip, Mary's then
 fiancé, for the wedding, and several months later, he
 was confirmed by the Crown of several grants of land and
 several royal offices.⁸ In addition, Henry's niece, Jane
 Dormer, had served as Mary's favorite lady-in-waiting while
 married to Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa de Cordoba, the
 then Count of Feria, who was Philip's envoy since the
 King's departure from England in July, 1557.⁹ This same
 Count, whose House was raised to a dukedom by Philip in
 1567, tried unsuccessfully to convince the Spanish King
 to accept his "critical and suspicious" attitude toward

Queen Elizabeth, who felt similarly toward him. Lady Jane, whose grandmother, the dowager Lady Dormer, had herself lived among the "Louvanists" for ten years prior to her death in 1570, ultimately retired with her husband and son to Zafra in Estremadura, Spain, where she remained after the Duke's sudden death in 1570. Although having many friends at the English court, Lady Jane never returned to England after July 30, 1559. Further, Mabel and Elizabeth Sidney, Henry's sisters, served Queen Mary with great loyalty until their deaths and remained faithful members of the Catholic Church throughout their lives.¹⁰

In addition to these family connections, Sir Philip seems to have been personally involved in peninsular politics. In 1580, when he may have been first working on the OA, the Portuguese crown passed to Philip as a consequence of a mortal wound incurred in battle by the unmarried, young Portuguese King, Sebastian (1557-78), two years earlier. Several claimants to the throne emerged to challenge Philip, one of whom, Don António, Prior de Crato (1531-95), achieved considerable support in England.¹¹ Sidney, ever the enemy of Philip of Spain, not only supported Don António, to whom he referred as "the kinge,"¹² but was also in direct contact with him at several junctures. In a letter to Sidney from Tunis, Don António gives an account of his preparations of men and ships (for the prospective liberation of Portugal from Spain) and adds his hope that Sidney, more than any

other Englishman, be available to assist in the venture.¹³ In the end, when it was realized that no aid would be forthcoming, Don Ant3nio prepared to embark for France, and it was Sidney who was sent to meet him at Gravesend with a message from the Queen. Both on his arrival to and departure from England, that is, Don Ant3nio was in the company of Sir Philip Sidney. That Sidney, finally, was distraught over Philip II's ultimate victory is evidenced by a succinct remark in a letter to his brother, Robert Sidney:

Portugall wee say is lost, and to conclude
my eies are almost closed upp, overwatched
with tedeous business.¹⁴

It can therefore be safely said that, to the Sidney family in general and to Sir Philip in particular, the political and cultural climate on the peninsula was something more than a remote and irrelevant matter.

Of the many Spanish and Portuguese books known in England,¹⁵ none was more popular than Montemayor's Diana, a work which was translated widely and which reached twenty-six Spanish and eleven French editions by the middle of the seventeenth century. Although available in the original Spanish in England, the Diana was fully translated (with its two sequels, those of P3rez and Polo) by Bartholomew Yong in 1583 (although not published until 1598). Edmund Paston and Barnabe Googe had Englished parts of the work even earlier, and Thomas Wilson translated Montemayor's romance

probably in 1596.¹⁶ Not only was the Diana on the Countess of Pembroke's reading list and contained in the library of King James I, it inspired an apparently popular and influential lost play, The History of Felix and Philomena, Henry Constable's sonnet sequence, Diana (1592), and even a work of erudition, John Minsheu's Spanish Grammar (1599), which claims to have taken most of its "words, phrases, sentences, and proverbs" from the Diana.¹⁷ Finally, twenty-five poems from Yong's translation were anthologized in England's Helicon (1600), and John Donne took one of his personal inscriptions from the Diana.¹⁸

Although the Diana was available in translation, Sidney may have been able to read it in the original Spanish. In addition to whatever level of competence in the language that was required in his immediate circle, Sidney may have had additional formal instruction as a result of his contact with Edward Wotton, who had lived for several years in Naples in the presence of a considerable number of Spanish residents.¹⁹ His comments, moreover, in the Defence indicate that his interest in Spanish literature was founded on more than secondary knowledge. In this work, Sidney demonstrates some familiarity with the prosody and orthography of various European languages, including Spanish.²⁰ Another indication that Sidney had some facility with Spanish occurs in his Certain Sonnets (ca. 1580), which contains three poems translated from the Spanish. The first of these, CS 7,

avowedly based on the tune of a Spanish song, "Se tu señora no dueles de mi," is noteworthy in that, according to Ringler, it constitutes "the first regularly sustained accentual trochaics in English."²¹ The second and third of these, CS 28 and 29, are significant in that they are translations of the first and third songs from the first book of Montemayor's Diana, indicating that Sidney owned or consulted the Diana, either in the original or in translation.

A close examination of these poems, which space does not allow, would, I think, corroborate the opinions of Judith M. Kennedy and Jean Robertson that Sidney's translations and adaptations from the Diana show a greater familiarity with the original than either Yong's or Wilson's translations.²² A comparative evaluation of the first stanza of CS 28, however, should bear this out. In the original, Sireno lamentingly contemplates the locks, which he keeps with him (wrapped in green silk), of Diana, who has proved unfaithful to him and to their former vows of love:

¡Cabellos, quanta mudança
 he visto después que os vi
 y qué mal parece ay
 essa color de esperança!
 Bien pensaba yo, cabellos,
 aunque con algún temor,
 que no fuera otro pastor
 digno de verse cabe ellos.
 (D, 13)

Yong's translation retains Montemayor's rhyme scheme (abba) but reduces the original octosyllabics to seven syllables:

Haire in change what libertie,
 Since I sawe you, have I seen?
 How unseemely hath this greene
 Bene a signe of hope to me?
 Once I thought no Shepherd might
 In these fieldes be found (O haire)
 (Though I did it with some feare)
 Worthy to come neere your sight.²³

Thomas Wilson's translation, moreover, changes Montemayor's rhyme scheme to abab and generates a six-syllable line:

Ah haire what change there is
 since first I did you vewe
 how ill befitteth this
 fresh collor hoping hewe.
 This hope me once did hould
 though somewhat fearingly
 that never shepherd should
 deserve your love but I.²⁴

Sidney's translation, which probably pre-dates both Yong's and Wilson's versions, may have provided the model for the latter. Like Wilson, he employs a six-syllable line rhyming abab:

What changes here, ô haire,
 I see since I saw you:
 How ill fits you this greene to weare,
 For hope the colour due.
 Indeed I well did hope,
 Though hope were mixt with feare,
 No other shepheard should have scope,
 Once to approach this hayer.²⁵

There are several reasons to believe that Sidney was working directly from the original and not from an English translation. One encounters elements in his version that are present in the original but absent from both Yong and

Wilson. First, Sidney varies his six-syllable line with an octosyllabic in the third and seventh lines, just as Montemayor varies his octosyllabics with a nine-syllable line in the fourth and eighth. Second, alone of the translators, Sidney retains the contrast between "mal" and "bien" in the third and fifth lines of the original. This contrast is significant because it points up the sharp difference between Sireno's present hopeless state and his former aspirations. Third, Sidney's is the only English version that retains Montemayor's pun ("cabellos" and "cabe ellos") in the fifth and eighth lines. That Sidney's "hayer" (line eight) is made to rhyme with "feare" (line six) and that the variant "heare" occurs in the 1598 and Bodleian manuscripts indicate that the poet, like Montemayor, may have been exploiting the homophonic similarity of these words. The contrast between the past glory represented by her locks, that is, and their present adulteration is the basis of poet poets' pun. There is a world of difference for Sidney between her "hayer" and what Sireno holds "heare," just as Montemayor puns on the disparity between her former vows (exemplified by her "cabellos") and the present reality of another shepherd "digno de verse cabe ellos."²⁶

Since Sidney does seem to have had some familiarity with the Dianas, it is not surprising to find certain resemblances in his pastoral romances and those of his

Iberian predecessors. In addition to those structural affinities of the Arcadias and the Dianas pointed out above (Note Four), one encounters certain love motifs and situations common to both. One of these is the "homosexual love" situation, several of which emerge in the Diana. The first involves Selvagia, who, approached by Ysmenia at a religious temple at which only women may worship, becomes "más enamorada della de lo que se podría dezir" (D, 42). The homosexual implications are not tempered when Ysmenia, in order to check Selvagia's ardent advances, pretends to be a man. A related episode occurs in D, 112 ff., in which Felismena, disguised as a page to be near her beloved, Don Felis, inadvertently attracts the interests of Celia, to whom she has been delivering love letters from Felis.²⁷ In this case, by contrast with the Selvagia-Ysmenia episode, the sexual disguise is not penetrated by the lover. A third such situation involves the intimate companionship of Armia and Duarda. "[Armia] le replicava con palavras muy blandas, juntando su rostro con el de la essenta Duarda con muy estrechos abraços. . . ." Armia goes on to tell her friend that, at this moment, she wishes she were not a woman: ". . .nunca deseé ser hombre, sino aora para quererte más que a mí!" (D, 283). Sidney, by comparison, places at the very center of both Arcadias a homosexual disguise which activates much of the plot.

King Basilius has fallen hopelessly in love with Pyrocles who has disguised himself as the Amazon "Zelmane" ("Cleopphila," in the OA) in order to be in the proximity of his beloved, Philoclea, Basilius' daughter. Like Montemayor's Celia, Basilius is unable to penetrate the disguise and becomes, in fact, enamored of it. On the contrary, his wife, Gynecia, senses the man behind the Amazon's robes and becomes overwhelmed by the stormiest of passionate desires for him. Philoclea points to another mode of loving, for, although not doubting that "Zelmane" is a woman, she is deeply affected by some unexpressed and unexpressible interior quality possessed by the Amazon. Understandably, this innocent, pure, and virtuous attraction awakes many conflicts in the Princess:

. . . sweet Philoclea . . . taking her [i.e., "Zelmane"] to be such as she professed, desired she did, but she knew not what; and she longed to obtain that whereof she herself could not imagine the mean, but full of unquiet imaginations rested only unhappy because she knew not her good hap.

(OA, 54)

In the Arcadias, then, the "homosexual love" situation is used both as a cornerstone of the plot and as a major comment on the types of love extant in the royal household, indicating that theme and narrative structure are more interrelated in Sidney's romance than in Montemayor's Diana, which, although not necessarily a source, was surely a precedent.

In addition to a mutual fascination with the naked, or near-naked, female form,²⁸ Sidney and Montemayor are interested in several similar character types. One is the deeply enamored young girl who risks all in disguising herself as a man to serve her beloved; e.g., Montemayor's Felismena and Sidney's real Zelmane. Again, Sidney characteristically transforms the precedent to suit his thematic priorities. In the Diana (and in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, partially based on it), the disloyal lover seems totally undeserving of his lady's love. He is finally redeemed only by a metamorphosis resulting, at least partially, from her virtuous example. In the Arcadias, such dishonesty and self-indulgent fickleness never are rewarded. Zelmane's love for Pyrocles goes unrequited because of his higher calling, i.e., the love of Philoclea and the royal throne. Virtue precedes love in the Arcadias; the unvirtuous cannot learn to love because of their natural defects. Both Montemayor and Sidney, further, are interested in the characterization of lover-germans, i.e., Pyrocles and Musidorus, and Philoclea and Pamela in the Arcadias, and Sireno and Silvano in the Diana. These attend to, console, and encourage their comrades during moments of particular distress. Such conversations often yield, moreover, rich comments on the nature and significance of love and of the analogy between human and divine

love. Such discussions are quite common in both Dianas²⁹ and in the Arcadias. Although secular works, all of these romances are noteworthy for their exploration of this analogy and for the weight of their conclusions.

All three poets, moreover, evince interest in the son-father love rivalry. The primary locus in the Diana is the Belisa episode, D, 132 ff. This beautiful young woman is courted by the middle-aged Arsenio, who sends her verses through his son, Arsileo. Eventually, however, due to their frequent contact and conversation, Belisa and Arsileo are drawn to each other. Tragedy strikes when the father finds his beloved and his son (whom he does not recognize) together during a romantic assignation. Arsenio proceeds to slay his son, and Belisa manages to flee. She is later found wandering alone through the Spanish countryside bemoaning this tragedy, as a result of which she has lost two, not one, dedicated and praiseworthy lovers. Montemayor, characteristically, tempers the tragedy by resorting to a deus ex machina. We are told that Arsileo is not dead at all. The entire "murder" scene had actually been orchestrated by Alfeo, a wicked magician (a kind of Cecropia in miniature), who is himself desirous of Belisa. In order to secure this maiden for himself, Alfeo had fabricated a counterfeit father and son who were programmed to simulate the murder of a son. At the Temple of Diana, Belisa and Arsileo are finally restored

to each other, and we learn that Arsenio has retired to a contented pastoral existence. In the Diana, then, it is wizardry that resolves the rift between father and son that is precipitated in the heat of passion.

While Montemayor stresses magical remediation, Polo, in an analogous episode, that of Montano and Ismenia (DE, 89 ff.), stresses "desengaño," one of his most recurrent themes. Here, again, father and son are brought into conflict over the hand of the same woman, and here, as in the Diana, son prevails over father. Upon learning that his son has proposed marriage to the woman he loves, Fileno resolves to banish both of them and to take the hand, instead, of the vindictive and treacherous Felisarda, who is Montano's former mistress. Desirous to win himself back into his father's graces, Montano is easily duped by Silveria, Felisarda's maid and confidante, to break into his father's bedchamber, with dagger drawn, in order to stifle a putative adulterous collusion involving Felisarda. This "engaño" seals Montano's fate. His father is now assured of his son's "murderous intentions." Further, Fileno's own "engaño" about his son's motives adds to Montano's already severe disillusionment; he is convinced that Ismenia has been inconstant to him. Like an assortment of Polo's characters, Montano withdraws into the green world, to "voluntario destierro," in order to avoid facing this new "reality." Again, in keeping with his primary themes, Polo relegates

remediation, not to the magical, but to the rational. The lovers are restored at the Temple of Diana, when Ismenia, nourished by Felicia in the true meaning of love, overhears Montano express his acknowledgment that it was "engaño" that proved his undoing:

Ay, fatigado corazón, cuán mal te fué en
dar crédito a tu sospecha y cuán justamente
padesces los males que tu mesma liviandad
te ha procurado!

(DE, 183)

Although, as we shall see, Polo regards man as very much inclined to errors of intellection, he is no less assured of the human capacity for achieving "desengaño" and therefrom forging a new life.

The Plangus story in the NA (231 ff., 242 ff., and 329 ff.) may bear some affinities to these episodes in the Dianas. Sidney transforms the story into a nightmare involving the basest human impulses. At first, the narrative is reminiscent of the "desengaño" plot of the DE. Father and son vie for the love of the same woman and are finally rent apart as a result of an error in judgment. Here, however, the similarities end. All three figures are subject to the powers of lust. The son, Plangus, is at first involved with the married Andromana in an adulterous relationship. The father, the King of Iberia, envious of his son's triumphs, spies on the lovers, persuades himself of Andromana's worthiness, and proceeds to rusticate his son on a military mission of dubious moment. Once

Andromana's cuckolded husband dies, the King of Iberia takes her to wife. Subsequently, however, Plangus returns, but he is not bitter about the marriage. Nor does he ever tell his father of the vicious adulteress his new step-mother is. Andromana, by contrast, ever vigilant and conniving, commissions spies to fill the King's ear with false reports about his son's alleged designs on her. These reports, augmented by a portentous dream, all but assure the King of his son's culpability. The final assurance, however, occurs when Plangus, "being subject to that only disadvantage of honest hearts, credulitie" (NA, 248), is gulled by the same servant into coming armed into his father's chamber to overhear a discussion of the proceeding that is to be brought against him, and "so have the more reason both to himselfe, and to the world, to seeke his safetie" (NA, 248). Plangus' execution is averted only when the citizens, sickened at the misrule of the King and his subjection to the wicked Queen, threaten to revolt unless he be freed. Plangus thereafter goes into exile.

Sidney's version of the story, despite the obvious affinities, diverges interestingly from that of Montemayor and Polo. First, there is no remedy awaiting Plangus in the form of either a magical suspension of the laws of nature or the achievement of "desengaño" resulting from renewal in a friendly temple of love. Indeed, Plangus'

fortunes, unlike those of Arsileo and Belisa in the Diana and Montano and Ismenia in the DE, never improve, they only worsen. After leaving his father's kingdom, bereft of a former love, his name, and his rights of succession, he emerges in Erona's kingdom (NA, 329 ff.), where he falls victim to an ill-fated passion for Queen Erona, who has ceded her kingdom and her heart to the nefarious Antiphilus. Plangus' agony is not assuaged either by the attainment of "desengaño" or as the result of the therapeutic intercession of a remediating agency. Like all of Sidney's lovers, Plangus is fully on his own, suffering the full consequences of his various miscalculations. In addition to their own defects of character, Sidney's lovers have to prevail against a universe where evil forces have the upper hand, hence these lovers' proclivity to slip into the same adverse situations over and over and, finally, to surrender to these forces. Plangus, however, does not totally surrender. Although his own chances for contentment no longer really exist, he resolves to procure help to rescue, at least, Erona's kingdom and to avenge the rumored death (NA, 337) of Pyrocles and Musidorus, who had intervened on her behalf. His decision to turn to Euarchus for assistance, then, is based on a degree of volition and virtue that is rarely encountered in the Dianas. Second, consonant with his principal themes, Sidney introduces various thematic materials that were

not present in the Dianas, such as the nature and effects of political rule and the significance of evil in the world. It is on the basis of affinities and transformations such as these, then, that one feels prompted to reconsider Sidney's love themes, and their wider implications, from the point of view of the precedent of the Dianas. Before doing so, however, we will first have to define and evaluate those themes and those implications as they are figured forth in the Dianas, two similar works with strikingly disparate views of love, man, and God.

NOTES

¹Quoted from Ringler, p. xxiv n.

²Quoted from Kennedy, p. xxxiv, who also indicates that, in the second part of his work (1613), Markham "re-emphasizes Sidney's knowledge and debt to these works" (p. xxxiv).

³Ibid., p. xxxiv.

⁴Among them are John Garrett Underhill, Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors (New York, 1899); T. P. Harrison, "A Source of Sidney's Arcadia," University of Texas Studies in English, 6 (1926), 53-71; Hector Genouy, op. cit., esp. pp. 112-17; P. J. Cooke, The Spanish Romances in Sidney's "Arcadia", (Urbana, Ill., 1939), pp. 3-15; and Gustav Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature (Berne, 1956), pp. 67-80. Davis, p. 46, adduces three general instances of borrowing from the Diana by Sidney: 1) the opening scene of the NA, involving Strephon and Claius, parallels the opening scene of the D, involving Sireno and Sylvano; 2) the story of the original Zelmane is a digest of the Felismena plot; 3) the pretended execution of Pamela and Philoclea recalls the death-trick of Alfeo on Belisa and Arsileo. Davis also contends (pp. 22 ff.) that Sidney may have absorbed Montemayor's multiple journey plot where the characters change by interaction.

⁵Ringler proposes that Sidney was "well acquainted with the more than 150 poems in the Diana of Montemayor and the continuations of Alonso Pérez and Gil Polo" (p. xxxv). Robertson points out that, although Sidney's debt to the D was "widely recognized and frequently acknowledged by readers of the NA," the OA may owe more to the DE than to the D, "not only in the division into five books, but also in the didactic opening of each book, and in the grouping and function of the poems" (p. xx). See also Kennedy, pp. xxiii-xxxix).

⁶Although a sworn enemy of Spanish imperialism and tyranny during his lifetime, Sir Philip was admired and acknowledged for his virtue and excellence even by his antagonists. Fulke Greville (Oxford, 1907) wrote of Mendoza's reaction to the young poet's death:

"In what due estimation his extraordinary worth was, even amongst his enemies, will appear by his death. When Mendoza, a Secretary of many treasons against us, acknowledged openly; that howsoever he was glad King Philip his Master had lost, in a private Gentleman, a dangerous enemy to his estate; yet he could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in those cloudy times." (pp. 32-33)

The full title of Greville's life gives some measure of Sidney's lifelong preoccupation with Spain: The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney with the true Interest of England as it then Stood in Relation to all Forrain Princes: And particularly for Suppressing the Power of Spain Stated by Him. . . . King Philip's written reaction to Sidney's death was brief, but poignant: "He was my godson" (Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1580-86, p. 650 n.).

⁷Ungerer, p. 67, contends that no English family was more open to Spanish influence than the Sidneys.

⁸Roger Howell, Sir Philip Sidney, The Shepherd Knight (Boston, 1968), p. 20. Howell adds that Henry displayed "complete uniformity on civil and religious matters" (p. 20).

⁹Albert J. Loomie, S. J. The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II (New York, 1963), p. 96. I am indebted to Fr. Loomie for the information on Jane Dormer (pp. 94-128).

¹⁰Howell, p. 20.

¹¹Among his supporters were Leicester, Sidney's uncle, Walsingham, Drake, and Hawkins. Various English publications appeared on the subject, such as the Psalmes of confession founde in the cabinet of the moste mightye Kinge of Portingale Don Antonio [the] Firste of that name wrytten with his owne hande (Licensed, February 17, 1596).

¹²Works, III, 136 (in a letter to Christopher Hatton). Sidney may also have been in indirect contact with Da Sousa, Don Antonio's agent.

¹³Howell, pp. 101-102.

¹⁴Works, III, 133. The letter is dated, October 18, 1580.

¹⁵There was a substantial English readership capable of understanding Spanish. According to John Florio, Queen Elizabeth numbered Spanish among the eight languages she spoke. One must also recall that a substantial number of English recusants resided in Spain and remained in contact with their homeland. Conversely, a small but vocal number of Spanish reformers, such as Antonio de Corro and Cipriano de Valera, had some of their writings published in sixteenth-century England. In addition to the Spanish grammars and dictionaries that were available, Edward Hoby wrote a Delightfull Dialogue (1599) on how easy and how profitable it is to learn Spanish. Even for those Englishmen unable to read Spanish, the many translations available made this literature very accessible. The situation was enough to appall Stephen Gosson, who responded characteristically in his Plays Confuted in Five Actions (1582):

"I may boldly say it because I have seen it, that the Palace of Pleasure, the Golden Asse, the Aethiopian histories, Amadis of France, the Round Table, baudie comedies in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish have been thoroughly ransacked to furnish the play houses of London."

¹⁶See D. M. Anderson, "Sir Thomas Wilson's Translation of Montemayor's Diana," RES, 7 (1965), 176-81. The sixth and seventh eclogues in the Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes (1563) of Barnabe Googe (1540-94) are based on the Diana. The sixth is a dialogue in which Felix apprises Faustus of various remedies for love, and, in the seventh (which seems more directly translated from the D than the sixth), Silvanus, Sirenus, and Selvagia discuss their discontentment in love. Ungerer, p. 71, conjectures that Cecil may have furnished Googe, his relative and his ward, with his copy of the D, a copy which Cecil seems to have possessed within one year of its publication.

¹⁷Ungerer, p. 80. Additionally, many poems from the D were adapted by D'Urfé (1567-1625) in his L'Astrée (1607-27, publ.) and by Desportes (1546-1606) in his Les Amours de Diana (1573 and after), which also contains a sonnet to Lady Rich, and, in the 1594 edition, eight poems to Sidney.

¹⁸See the William Marshall portrait of Donne in Spanish garb (1591). The accompanying motto, "Antes muerto que mudado," is taken from the D, 14. Donne has placed the feminine endings of Diana's somewhat ironic motto into the

masculine for obvious reasons. This was published in the 1635 edition of Donne's poems. Donne may have fought against the Spanish in the Lowlands, ca. 1587-91.

¹⁹Ringler, p. xxi. I find less support for Ungerer's supposition that António de Corro may have been Sidney's tutor.

²⁰Works, III, 44-45. We are told that Italian, Dutch, French, and Spanish are not fit for both quantitative and accentual versification (as opposed to English, which is), that Spanish poetry lacks the caesura, and that the Spanish language has only a "little more" words with an accent on the last syllable than French, which has only two.

²¹Ringler, p. xliii. According to Ringler, "No previous English poet, from Old English to Tudor times, even approached Sidney in the variety and complexity of metrical forms that he used" (p. lviii).

²²Unfortunately, I was unable to consult Nicholas Collin's translation of the D (1567) prior to undertaking this comparative analysis. Kennedy, p. 425, writes that Sidney is "more successful in his original tercetos esdrújos" than either Yong or Wilson.

²³Kennedy, p. 13.

²⁴Quoted from D. M. Anderson, p. 179.

²⁵Ringler, pp. 157-58.

²⁶Sidney's sixth line is also intriguing because it seems to recall the extended passage on "temor" and "esperança" in the DE, 88, a short quotation from which reads, "Y así el amador está metido en medio del temor y la esperança." See also OA, 294: ". . . hope being of all other the most contrary thing to fear. . . ."

²⁷The Felis-Felismena plot may be a source, not only of The Two Gentlemen of Verona, but of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. Interestingly, the Variorum edition of the TN (1901) cites the Zelmane plot from the NA as a possible source of the play but omits any mention of the Felismena material in the D.

²⁸Compare, for example, Montemayor's description of the near-naked Belisa (D, 132):

"Tenía una saya azul clara, un jubón de una tela tan delicada que mostrava la perfición y compás del blanco pecho porque el sayuelo que del mismo color de la saya era, le tenía suelto de manera que aquel gracioso bulto se podía bien divisar."

with Sidney's portrait of the reclining Philoclea (OA, 231):

". . . having her beauties eclipsed with nothing but with a fair smock (wrought all in flames of ash-colour silk and gold), lying so upon her right side that the left thigh down to the foot yielded his delightful proportion to the full view, . . which, through the curtains a little drawn, cast such a light upon her as the moon doth when it shines into a thin wood. . . ."

²⁹Although Sidney left no translation of Polo's work, he may have been affected by it. According to Davis, p. 27, Polo, who simplified Montemayor's plot line, brought to prose pastoral "a classical clarity of outline" and may have provided Sidney with a model for the five-act comic structure that he employs in the OA. Davis also contends, pp. 38-42, that the "three-part pattern" employed in the NA is exemplified more fully in the DE than in the D or the other pastoral romances. More specifically, Davis, following Ringler's lead, submits that Sidney's pastoral epithalamion in the Third Eclogues (OA, 245-48) "owes its general outline and its stanzaic structure to the song for Diana and Sireno" near the close of the fourth book of the DE (p. 46). There is a fuller discussion of this in Ringler, pp. 411-12. See also Robertson, p. 443, for more evidence of Polo's possible influence on Sidney. Kennedy, p. xxxvi, finds an affinity between the OA and the DE "in the didactic opening of each book, and in the grouping and function of the poems." This observation can also be found in Robertson, p. xx.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIANAS: RELIGIOUS THEMES AND THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE

The principal infirmity encumbering Montemayor's lovers in the Diana is a general bondage of the will. They are at the mercy of love's superior power over them and are unable to take any forceful steps to erode that power. Therefore, they become resigned to their discontented states and increasingly bitter at the cosmic powers for the injustice of the world.¹ Love exerts such control over man that it can disrupt his rational faculties, leaving him, if not mad, at least most ludicrous. Sylvano, who has first-hand knowledge of these disrupting effects of love, describes them to Sireno, Polydora, and Felicia:

. . . el menor mal que [Amor] haze, es quitarnos el juyzio, perder la memoria de toda cosa, y enchirla de solo él; buelve ageno de sí todo hombre y proprio de la persona amada. Pues, ¿que hará el desventurado que se ve enemigo de plazer, amigo de soledad, lleno de passiones, cercado de temores, turbado de espíritu, martirizado del seso, sustentado de esperança, fatigado de pensamientos, afligido de molestias, traspasado de celos, lleno perpetuamente de sospiros, enojos y agravios que jamás le faltan?

(D, 199)

Further, Montemayor makes wide use of one of Ebreo's principal themes, i.e., that love, though born of reason, is not necessarily governed by her, "porque no ay cosa que después de nacida, menos corresponda al origen de adonde nació" (D, 197).² In his disquisition on love at the Temple of Diana, Sylvano points out this very theme:

Vésme aquí donde estoy, que verdaderamente ninguna cosa ay en mí que se pueda gobernar por razón, ni aún la podrá aver en quien tan ageno estuviere de su libertad, como yo; porque todas las subjeciones corporales dexan libre a lo menos la voluntad, mas la subjeción de amor es tal que la primera cosa que haze, es tomaros possession della. . . .
(D, 200-201)

What is worse is that love, in the Diana, is both irresistible and unavoidable; even those lovers most tormented by discontent seem totally unable, even unwilling, to challenge love's hegemony over them. This fact amazes Sylvano:

. . . lo que más me maravilla es que, siendo este amor tan intolerable y estremado en crueldad, no espere el espíritu apartarse dél, ni lo procure, mas antes tenga por enemigo a quien se lo aconseja.
(D, 199-200)

The answer is "human weakness." Montemayor's lovers are simply too weak to rise above love or to avoid its negative effects. In the Diana, man is subordinate to the force of love.

One form that the lover's weakness may take is a vulnerability to feelings of jealousy. Montemayor, like Ebreo, Capellanus, and others, considered such feelings

to be intrinsic to true love; indeed, to love truly is to submit, with some frequency, to pangs of jealousy:

¿Quándo quiso bien un amador que qualquiera
ocasión de celos, por pequeña que fuesse,
no le atormentasse el alma?

(D, 264)

In the same section of the work, Felismena is called upon to adjudicate between Amarílida and Fileno. The latter, according to Amarílida, should be punished for his unwarranted jealousy. Felismena's judgment is clear and direct — Amarílida should not be overly-harsh with him for such a human shortcoming and should presently restore him to her graces. This tolerant tone for certain excesses to which lovers are subject pervades the Diana. Even certain liberties taken during the heat of passion are countenanced:

. . . si el amor que el amador tiene a su
dama, aunque inflamado en desenfrenada
afición, nace de la razón y del verdadero
conocimiento y juyzio, que por solas sus
virtudes la juzgue digna de ser amada . . .
este tal amor . . . no es ilícito ni
deshonesto. . . .

(D, 198)

Although Montemayor does not condone such rapine assaults as those of the three "Selvages" (D, 87 ff.), neither does he regard the human will as sufficiently potent to circumvent some of the immoderate desires that often are associated with love. Nor is the lover sufficiently rational to avoid the folly that love often brings. One example of this folly is the "cross-eyed lover" situation, found in the D, 37 ff. Here, Selvagia recounts how, due to a series of occurrences beyond all control, the following mix-up

transpired: Alanio became enamored of Ysmania, Ysmania, of Montano; Montano, of Selvagia; and Selvagia (inevitably), of Alanio, "cada uno perdido por quien no le quería" (D, 53). The "cross-eyed lover" situation is a travesty of the lover's powerlessness and victimization by love. He emerges a ludicrous figure and a pathetic comment on the human will:

Amor loco ¡ay, amor loco!
yo por vos y vos por otro.
(D, 57)

Due to their weakness of spirit, Montemayor's lovers are often unable to uphold their vows. Inconstancy and its concomitant, unrequited love, run through the pages of the Diana. One instance has already been cited, that of Don Felis, who, after remediation, adduces four causes of lovers' inconstancy. They are 1) youth, 2) the attractiveness of the third party (in this case, Celia), 3) "la mudanza de los tiempos," and 4) "la traydora de ausencia" (D, 298). Although he is thoroughly remorseful about his former follies and is transformed as a result of them, Felis is nevertheless an emblem of the capricious lover, ever-changeable in the face of new love. The most studied example of inconstancy in the Diana, however, is Diana herself. Despite her many confident vows of fidelity to Sireno, she yields to her father's wishes that she marry the old but wealthy Delio, during her beloved's one-year separation from her. When Sireno returns, he is crushed upon learning that she has consented to the hand of another,

particularly someone so inferior to him in the manly activities of shepherds, someone so conspicuously deficient in the "bienes de naturaleza," though rich in the "bienes de fortuna." The effect of such inconstancy on Sireno is noteworthy; he becomes resigned to the inevitability of human suffering in the world. So downcast and so immune to happiness does he become that "si la fortuna le quisiera dar algún contento, fuera menester buscar otro corazón nuevo para recebille" (D, 10). He attributes the extent of his torment to his former assurances about the accessibility of content in the world: ". . . el bien que entonces pasé, fué principio del mal que ahora padesco" (D, 12). Only with the greatest difficulty can Sireno begin to contemplate Diana's fall from her former perfection:

¿Viste los favores que me hazía? Viste la blandura de palabra con que me manifestava sus amores? era tanta su hermosura, su valor, su honestidad y la limpieza del amor que me tenía, que me quitavan del pensamiento qualquiera cosa que en daño de su bondad imaginasse.
(D, 20-21)

On his departure from Diana, Sireno had been most reluctant, but he was mollified by her reassuring letter (D, 14-15), in which she poked light fun at his obsession of losing her, her poignant song on his absence (D, 24-27), and her confident motto, "antes muerta que mudada" (D, 14). Later in the work, the repentant Diana tries to defend herself against his accusation of inconstancy by invoking

the traditional theme of filial obedience. Such arguments, however, mean little to Sireno, for whom the lover is bound to higher laws than obedience to parents:

¿Mas qué parte . . . eran los padres, la obediencia, los tiempos, ni los malos o favorables sucessos de la fortuna para sobrepujar un amor tan verdadero como antes de mi partida me mostraste? . . . que nunca yo pensé que uviera cosa en la vida que una fe tan grande pudiera quebrar!
(D, 273)

Human inconstancy raises several interesting questions. We have seen that it reflects a certain lack of commitment, of strength, in the human will. It also argues against the concept of a providential teleology because, in the Diana, the very best lovers, and the most constant, Sireno, Sylvano, Selvagia, and Felismena, are most plagued by the inconstancy of their beloveds: "los que sufren más, son los mejores" (D, 167). Success in love does not result from virtue or merit, but apparently from "ventura" or luck:

. . . está claro que las personas de suerte serán muy mejor enamorados que aquellas en quien ésta falta.

(D, 170)

Why, after all, do such undeserving lovers as Delio and Felis receive the blessings of devoted love while the truly deserving live in privation? Most of Montemayor's lovers agree with Alanio that "fortuna" is the "enemiga de . . . gloria" (D, 65) and with Dórida that there is little one can do against the "golpes de la fortuna"

(D, 125). Sincere and all-bestowing lovers, they are nevertheless on the verge of becoming stoics or malcontents before the sojourn to the Temple of Diana. They have lost their faith in good deeds, their trust in human nature, and their will to live.³ Further, it cannot accurately be said that suffering is posed in the Diana as a necessary, temporary phase for the fruition that will follow.⁴ Such a statement applies more to the Arcadias than to Montemayor's romance. In this work, false lovers may achieve transitory glory (as Delio does), but true lovers are destined to suffer, due, essentially, to a hostile universe and to their personal inability to defy that universe. To be discontented in love, then, is no stigma; it is a sign of true love and a mark of the human condition:

No es menos desdichado
 aquel que jamás tuvo mal de amores
 que el más enamorado
 faltándole favores
 pues los que sufren más, son los mejores.
 (D, 167)

Since suffering is the essence of love, the true lover should welcome melancholy as the badge of his condition:

Bien vee el enamorado
 que el crudo amor no está en cometimientos
 no en ánimo esforçado
 está en unos tormentos
 do los que penan más, son (más) contentos.
 (D, 168)

Nor should the discontented lover rail against love itself during even his bleakest moments. Love is fraught with suffering only because of the vicissitudes of fortune,

over which man has no control:

Caer de un buen estado
 es una grave pena y importuna,
 mas no es amor culpado;
 la culpa es de fortuna
 que no sabe exceptar persona alguna.
 (D, 169)

Montemayor, then, takes the responsibility for human discontent out of the realm of human control and attributes it to higher forces. Unlike Polo, he does not regard the lover himself as the efficient cause of his condition. In order to achieve remediation, the lovers in the Diana are not expected to undergo a personal transformation. All they require is to avail themselves of the higher sort of fortune represented by Felicia at the Temple of Diana.

It is therefore not surprising that Montemayor's lovers turn to a magical figure for aid.⁵ Unlike Polo's lovers, they are given no practical program for or didactic instruction in the attainment of felicity in the world; hence their recourse to magic. There is nothing, moreover, encouraging about such a deus ex machina as Felicia's potion. Which known agency provides it? What must one do to be eligible for it? Such questions are not considered in the Diana. Indeed, prior to the journey to the Temple of Diana, Montemayor's lovers themselves are most skeptical about the availability of any remedy whatsoever, and they discredit Dórida's words to that effect. Sireno is convinced that every option has already been exhausted ("todos los caminos son tomados" — D, 130), Belisa doubts that

even time will ever cure her ills (D, 159), and Felismena sophisticatedly argues that the only true remedy is the restoration of her missing Felis, "el propio que lo causa" (D, 126). The journey to Felicia's resolves only one aspect of the pessimistic state of Montemayor's lovers. Although they learn that love in some form is indeed attainable, they do not emerge with a new faith in their own capacity to make that attainment; they are as dependent on Felicia's magical powers as they were once dependent on love's rule. Montemayor was not optimistic about the power and efficacy of the human will.

Felicia's remedy seems to be, at least in its earliest stages, no different from that of Polo's Felicia; i.e., the psychological transformation of the lover. First, she indicates that remediation is not available to all:

. . . si la fe primera no a perdido
y aquel primer amor a conservado entrar
puede en el templo de Diana cuya virtud
y gracia es sobrehumana.

(D, 165)

After notifying the lovers of the necessity of Good Works ("no ay cosa que sin ellos alcançar se pueda," D, 163) and the various desiderata of good lovers ("el ánimo generoso y el entendimiento delicado, . . . el juyzio vivo, el pensamiento inclinado a cosas altas," D, 170), she proceeds to identify love with virtue:

. . . como el amor sea virtud y la virtud
siempre haga assiento en el mejor lugar. . . .

(D, 170)

Such precepts seem, in fact, to contradict many of the attitudes that have been proposed in the first three books of the Diana. They are not, however, to be taken seriously, as one is not to take seriously the first three phases of Felicia's four-part remedy. Like Polo's Felicia, Montemayor's goddess bases the first aspects of her remedy on the individual mind, on "internal" matters. First, she permits and encourages numerous love discussions and debates. Second, she manifests a considerable faith in time's power to cure love's ills. Third, she exhorts the lovers to have faith in God.⁶ Nevertheless, none of these strategies bears anything more than face value. Felicia is finally compelled to resort to her sine qua non, her magical potion, to assist the most abject lovers. She indicates to Sireno implicitly that his only hope lies in this recourse:

Olvidado pastor, si en tus males uviera
otro remedio sino éste, yo te le buscara
con toda la diligencia possible, pero ya
que no puedes gozar de aquella que tanto
te quiso sin muerte agena y está en manos
de solo Dios, es menester que recibas otro
remedio para no dessear cosa que es imposible
alcançalla.

(D, 223)

The same extreme measure is used on Selvagia and Sylvano (D, 223-24). These lovers, then, are aided not by the internal sort of agency provided by Polo's Felicia, but by purely external means. Montemayor's lovers do not change from within; they are metamorphosed from without.

The effect of the potion is notable. First, it

puts the lovers to sleep, not to be revived until touched by Felicia's book. This goddess ascribes full efficacy, strength, and significance to this potion:

No os espantéis desse porque el agua que ellos bevieron tiene tal fuerça assi una como la otra que todo el tiempo que yo quisiere, dormirán sin que baste ninguna persona a despertellos.

(D, 224)

This potion, according to Felicia, can undo all the entanglements brought about by love:

. . . el agua sabe desatar los nudos que este perverso del amor haze.

(D, 225)

As a result of it, Sireno's remaining affections for Diana are entirely severed. Felicia asks this new Sireno if sight of Diana and her husband laughing together at the follies of her former love would torment him in any way. Sireno's response is a comment on the effectiveness of the potion:

Por cierto, señora, ninguna pena me darían, antes les ayudaría a reyr de mis locuras passadas.

(D, 225)

Later in the work, Sireno is decidedly convinced that, had it not been for the administering of the potion, he would still be wallowing in remorse and discontent:

. . . cosa fué ésta que si la fuerça del agua que la sabia Felicia le avía dado, no le uviera hecho olvidar los amores, quizá no uviera cosa en el mundo que le estorvara bolver a ellos.

(D, 270)

Whereas Sireno is now able to forswear all love, his friend, and former rival, Sylvano, is, due to the potion, united with Selvagia, for whom he had never before experienced any passion. Like Sireno, the renewed Sylvano can now look upon his former doting on Diana as "locura":

¡. . . cuán gran locura a sido aver empleado en otra parte el pensamiento, después que mis ojos te E.e., Selvagia] vieron!
(D, 226)

He is assured that, as a result of the potion, he has arrived in a new, true port, where his affections will be forever reciprocated:

. . . como el navío anda perdido por la mar sin poder tomar puerto seguro, así anduvo mi pensamiento en los amores de Diana todo el tiempo que la quise bien, mas agora e llegado a un puerto donde plega a Dios que sea también recebido, como el amor que yo le tengo lo merece.
(D, 226)

Selvagia, awaking at that moment, indicates that her new affection for Sylvano is as strong as his for her. After testing Selvagia by offering her former love, Alanio, to her (D, 227-28), Felicia is fully convinced of the genuineness of the bond between the lovers:

. . . mi favor jamás os podrá faltar. . . .
(D, 228)

Not only do Montemayor's lovers have no control over the means or effects of their remediation, they react with unusual certitude to their new conditions. In the Diana, it is not the lover, but the forces that engird him, of

which the potion is one, in which true power rests.

It is not surprising that Montemayor's potion has been the target of much criticism and the object of much controversy since Cervantes' *Cura* took exception to it,⁷ for it exemplifies human powerlessness in an impersonal universe, a powerlessness which is aggravated by the absence of an intermediating agency which operates on man's behalf. Such a role had traditionally been ascribed to the Roman Catholic Church. In the *Diana*, by contrast, it is wizardry that saves man. As a result of the potion, Montemayor's lovers are drugged with a new sense of optimism based on a denial of the nature and implications of their former agonies. Although these lovers undergo a major metamorphosis during the course of the work, they are, in at least one important respect, no different at the conclusion of the work than they were at the opening: they are powerless creatures who turn for their strength outwardly, not inwardly. Contentment is achieved in the *Diana*, not by a heroic defiance of fortune or assertion of will, it is achieved as a result of the all-potent magical intervention of Felicia. Nor is Felicia's remedy based on the edification of man in the true meaning of love or life, it is purely "external" in nature and effect. What is missing from the *Diana* is the human factor; it is this state of affairs that Polo undertakes to correct in his continuation, the *Diana enamorada*.

In a pioneering and still useful study of the love attitudes found in the Dianas, A. Solé Leris argues that Polo inaugurates a new emphasis on, and identification of, reason and will in the DE.⁸ In Polo's romance, discontent occurs, not because of the nature of things, but because of the lover's unwillingness to tap his own true powers. Consequently, it cannot be said, as is reiterated in the Diana, that the best lovers suffer most. In the DE, it is the worst lover who suffers most. Further, one does not encounter in Polo's work the same tolerance of lovers' excesses that is found in the Diana. To love imperfectly is to bring upon oneself unimaginable horrors:

El amor que de éste se desvía es fealdad abominable, tormento insufrible, perdición del alma, destrucción de la vida, mengua de la fama, amarga dulçura, engaño voluntario, plazer sin contento, deleite breve, bien inconstante, esperança vaga, vergonçoso pesar, pena cierta, recelo contino, muerte gustosa, vida mortal, estado sin firmeza, y . . . una afición que por más que quien la tiene procura de escusarse y defendella, ha de ser reprobada por los libres entendimientos y desechada de las honestas voluntades.

(DE, 260)

Polo does not deny that it is difficult to love well in the world, but he ascribes to man greater powers, albeit latent powers, than does Montemayor. Polo figures forth these powers in the "Ciervo" episode, DE, 224 ff., in which a beautiful white stag (or "hart," according to Yong), with very small black spots and large horns painted gold, is shot at by various nymphs proficient in archery,

until he escapes, at least temporarily, from their ongoing pursuit. Felicia explains the moral and psychological sentence of this episode:

El ciervo es el humano corazón, hermoso
 con los delicados pensamientos y rico con
 el sossegado contentamiento. Ofréscese a
 las humanas inclinaciones, que le tiran
 las mortales saetas; pero con la discreción,
 apartándose a diversas partes y entendiendo
 en honestos ejercicios, ha de procurar de
 defenderse de tan dañosos tiros.
 (DE, 225)

Man, then, with the proper use of "discreción" and "honestos ejercicios," is capable of evading the temptations brought to bear by the appetites.

A good deal of the material in the first two books of the DE concerns the discontent that irrational loving can yield.⁹ Indeed, Polo's lovers tend to congregate on the extremes of the spectrum of love, whereas Montemayor's lovers are located in the middle. For example, Montemayor's Delio, Diana's husband, who, in the Diana, is rather nondescript, emerges in the DE as an inconstant and impetuous fool who is ridiculously at the mercy of his appetites. At one point, although in the presence of his spouse, he suddenly takes off in pursuit of the lovely Alcida who has happened by (DE, 38-39). Alcida, who manages to escape, later says of him: "No vi hombre tan perdido de amores en toda mi vida" (DE, 200). Unable to capture his quarry, Delio is eventually consoled by his mother who has had to intervene on his behalf (DE, 201). Not only is Delio

irrational, lustful, and ineffectual (indeed, a portrait of many of Montemayor's lovers), he is ironically obsessed with "celos," or jealousy, over Diana's former relationship with Sireno. So inept is he that, on hearing that Sireno and Diana are together at the Temple of Diana, Delio, exhausted from the chase, expires in his mother's arms:

. . . oyendo que Diana era venida acá,
 temiendo que reviviessen los amores passados,
~~el~~ vino en tanta frenezia, y se le arzezió
 el mal de tal manera, que combatido de dos
 bravísimos tormentos con un desmayo acabó
 la vida. . . .

(DE, 201-202)

In the DE, that is, Delio has degenerated into an emblem of "amor terreno." Polo also adds to the DE an assortment of new characters not found in the Diana. One is the lustful and deceitful ship's pilot, Bartofano, whose evil lusts virtually destroy the innocent married love of Marcelio and Alcida. Bartofano's uncontrolled appetites lead him into irrational corners and into treacherous activity. Like all of Polo's bad lovers, however, he never experiences fulfilment or contentment; in the end, he is left with nothing. In the DE, the worst lovers suffer most.

It is curious that the flawed lover, Delio, is subject to the torment of jealousy. Given his view of the rational powers of the human intellect, it is obvious that Polo shows little support for Montemayor's tolerance toward jealousy. That the later writer took a very serious

interest in this topic is corroborated by the length and weight of the digression on jealousy in the DE (pp. 82-88). Here, Diana, as she often does in the DE, is made to bespeak Montemayor's position:

. . . cierto está que quien ama huelga de ser amado, y ha de tener los celos de la cosa amada por muy buenos, pues son claras senales de amor, nascen de él y siempre van con él acompañados.

(DE, 83)

Polo, however, like Cervantes (in La Galatea), envisions a love above jealousy. Consequently, Diana's tolerant view of jealousy is refuted by Marcelio, another character (like Alcida) invented by Polo partially to embody the authorial position:

. . . puesto que hay pocos enamorados que no sean celosos, no por esso se ha de dezir que el enamorado que no lo fuere no sea más perfecto y verdadero amador. Antes muestra en ello el valor, fuerza y quilate de su deseo, pues está limpio y sin la escoria de frenéticas sospechas.

(DE, 83)

This is quite in keeping with Polo's characterization of man as a being capable of controlling his strongest impulses. Even jealousy can be totally checked by the true lover. If unchecked, it can lead to a major problem, for it sets the lover against the beloved. Jealousy is not grounded in the world of reason but in the lowly passions and fears of the lover. It is a "sospecha mortal, que pone en duda la fe y la bondad de la cosa querida" (DE, 85). Convinced that jealousy is the enemy of love and not one of its

symptoms, Diana comes to realize that it has been "temor," not "celos," which has plagued her most (DE, 87).¹⁰

It is apparent that Polo ascribes to the human mind powers which Montemayor had reserved for such super-human powers as love, fortune, and magic. It is therefore not surprising that love is portrayed in the Diana as the powerful and glorious force that it is. In another love-debate, Alcida assures Diana that it is the lover's error to place himself in a subordinate position to love. To do so is to relinquish one's volition and freedom:

Este es el engaño . . . de los que se hazen esclavos del Amor que, en començalle a servir, son tan suyos, que ni quieren sér libres, ni les paresce possible tener libertad.
(DE, 21)

Alcida, moreover, speaks not merely from knowledge, but from experience, as well. Since the apparent desertion of Marcelio, she has withdrawn to the green world of pastoral, where she ponders the true meaning of love and the nature of lovers. Although she too is in need of "desengaño" at the Temple of Diana, Alcida exemplifies the powers that lovers have in latent reserve. Montemayor's lovers attain little wisdom prior to remediation, but Alcida has emerged from her solitary wanderings with a good deal of wisdom. Were it not for her huge miscalculation about her husband, for which she needs Felicia's aid, Alcida would be little different than "la Sabia," herself. Like none of Montemayor's lovers, Alcida, then, is able to benefit, at least

to some extent, from her adversities. Her discontent has left her, not weakened and in disarray, but far wiser than before.

Further, it is implicit in the DE that, if there was hope for Alcida, there is hope for all otherwise abjectly discontented lovers, including Diana. Alcida voices this theme:

He sido muchos años captiva, y agora me
veo libre; anduve ciega, y agora atino al
camino de la verdad; pasé en el mar de
amor peligrosas agonías y tormentas, y
agora estoy gozando del seguro y sosegado
puerto. . . .

(DE, 21)

Diana, however, who recalls the position not only of Montemayor but of the earlier Cancionero poets as well, is at first skeptical about Alcida's subordination of love to the lover. First, she suggests that love, "el poderoso Cupido" (DE, 22), is virtually unsurmountable. Alcida, by contrast, contends that the lover who adheres to the Golden Mean and who maintains a firm hold on his intellect can subdue and conquer Cupid "fácilmente":

No hagas tan gran honra a quien tan poco
la meresce, nombrando poderoso al que tan
fácilmente queda vencido, especialmente de
los que eligen el medio que tengo dicho,
porque en él consiste la virtud, y donde
ella está, quedan los corazones contra el
Amor fuertes y constantes.

(DE, 22-23)

In response, Diana reverts to one of Montemayor's most recurrent themes. She contends that, to try to resist

love is to contradict our own nature and is an indication that our hearts are "cruelles, duros, ásperos y rebeldes," and not "fuertes and constantes," as Alcida has argued:

Porque el poder del Amor vence la más
segura defensa, y traspasa el más fuerte
impedimento.

(DE, 23)

Diana follows this with a song on "el poderoso Amor," which makes use of many of the stock Petrarchan figures and themes. Alcida, however, mocks such language as stilted and unsincere:

. . . si sienten passiones los enamorados,
proviene de su mesma voluntad, y no del amor;
el cual no es sino una cosa imaginada por los
hombres que ni está en cielo, ni en tierra,
sino en el corazón del que la quiere.

(DE, 23)

It is not love, but the lover, who is responsible for his torments and discontent:

No es ciego Amor, mas yo lo soy, que guío
mi voluntad camino del tormento,
no es niño Amor, mas yo que en un momento
espero y tengo miedo, lloro y río. . . .
.
No tiene Amor cadenas ni saetas,
para prender y herir libres y sanos
que en él no hay más poder del que le damos.
Porque es Amor mentira de poetas,
sueño de locos, ídolo de vanos:
mirad qué negro Dios el que adoramos.¹¹

(DE, 25)

She continues that many lovers deliberately pretend service to love in order to conceal their vain and unchaste desires. Such lovers, therefore, apotheosize love for obvious reasons.¹² Alcida's primary point is that to glorify love excessively is tantamount to relegating the lover to a subordinate position:

. . . cuanto más su poder y valor encarescen,
 más nuestras flaquezas y poquedades mani-
 fiesten. Porque dezir que el Amor es
 fuerte, es dezir que nuestra voluntad es
 floxa, . . . dezir que el Amor tira con
 poderosa furia venenosa y mortales saetas,
 es dezir que nuestro corazón es descuidado, . .
 dezir que el Amor nuestras almas tan estrecha-
 mente captiva, es dezir que en nosotros hay
 falta de juicio. . . .
 (DE, 26-27)

Such themes are ultimately corroborated by the course of events in Polo's romance. In both Dianas, then, lover and love are endlessly at odds with each other. Only in the DE, however, does the former emerge ultimately triumphant.

Both poets agree that discontent is a common condition of man, but Polo relegates its causes and cures to the faculty of reason. Not merely the pawns of fortune or love, Polo's lovers often bring about their own unhappiness by a recurrent inability to perceive accurately and to discriminate between appearance and reality. In the first two books of the DE, three of Polo's most notably discontented lovers are laboring under a gross misconception concerning their partners. Alcida erroneously thinks that Marcelio, her new husband, has abandoned her on a deserted island immediately after the wedding festivities. In truth, Marcelio was deceived by Bartofano, the false pilot, into leaving the sleeping Alcida alone on an island, while the others went to look for comestibles. He now wanders in perpetual search of his wife, for whom his love is above question. Sireno erroneously thinks that Diana has personally

denied him and that she no longer harbors feelings of affection for him. Forced by parental pressure to marry Delio, Diana still loves only Sireno. She wants only to see him and to make a full explanation to him. Montano, moreover, is, as we have seen, wrong about Ismenia. She has not been faithless to him, as he has been led to believe; instead, she has been faithful throughout. She cannot, however, find him in order to undo his "engaño," for he is in "voluntario destierro" (DE, 106). Polo's is a world, in short, in which exist a crisis of knowledge and a pervasive need for "desengaño." On his own, man tends to misdeem and to err. It is no wonder that men rail against fortune with the frequency noted in the Diana, but such railings are really without foundation. It is man who victimizes himself:

Grandes son las quejas que los hombres dan ordinariamente de la Fortuna; pero no serían tantas, ni tan ásperas, si se tuviese cuenta con los bienes que muchas vezes no vienen de sus mudanças.
(DE, 173)

It will be recalled that Montemayor's lovers, like many of their counterparts in the earlier Iberian pastoral tradition, often lamented the "mudanças" of existence and often attributed them to the indifference and hostility of fortune. By contrast, Polo's lovers are exhorted not to live "confiado en la posesión de los bienes ni desesperado en el sufrimiento de los males," but to accept

their "deleites como cosa que no had de durar y los tormentos como cosa que puede ser fenescida" (DE, 173). As we have seen, however, these lovers are portrayed as incapable of achieving "desengaño" on their own. Even the wisest of them all, Alcida, is dependent on an intercessor to bring her truth and to save her love.

This intercessor is Felicia. Whereas in the Diana she is the means by which the lovers are administered a potion to undo their former follies, in the DE, she serves as a rational guide to rational conduct and to "desengaño."¹³ Polo's lovers approach Felicia with great reverence and awe. It is she who will intervene on their behalf, and she has supernatural sanction, for we are told that the deity takes particular interest in discontented lovers and that Felicia is the vehicle whereby He assists them:

De semejantes hombres tiene Dios particular
cuidado, como del triste y congoxado Mar-
celio, librándolo de su necesidad por medio
de la sapientísima Felicia. . . .
(DE, 173)

Polo's Felicia, then, is a figure of far greater religious stature than her counterpart in the Diana. The nature of her remedy attests to this.

Felicia's primary demand of the lovers is that they place all faith in her, in whom there is nothing "ajena de verdad" (DE, 179). Only after dining, resting, and beginning

to forget their problems are the lovers prepared to be "desengañados" by Felicia. She turns first to Alcida:

. . . será menester que de tu error y sospecha quedes desengañada. Lo que de Marcelio presumes es al revés de lo que piensas. . . .
(DE, 179)

Felicia goes on to explain that Marcelio was not responsible for Alcida's abandonment and mistreatment on the island. Like Montemayor's lovers, Alcida is instantly cured, but the remedy flows from her faith in the wisdom and rightness of Felicia's words, not from magic:

. . . junto con el engaño salió de su corazón el aborrescimiento. Y tanto por estar fuera del error pasado como por la obra que las poderosas palabras de Felicia hazían en su alma, comenzó a despertarse en ella el adormido amor y avivarse el sepultado fuego. . . .
(DE, 179)

Felicia also brings about "desengaño" between Ismenia and Montano without recourse to a potion or some other magical means. Here, the method is that of direct communication. Montano, to whom the repentant Silveria has finally confessed her crime and admitted Ismenia's innocence, is overheard by his beloved bewailing his past errors and proclaiming his renewed love for her (DE, 183). It is as a result of Montano's announcement of his "desengaño" that Ismenia becomes capable of achieving her own "desengaño." Sireno, finally, is cured as a result of overhearing the plight of Marcelio and Alcida, whose situation parallels his own (DE, 199). Although Felicia is not present, her powers

are such that, because of her example, Sireno is enabled to undergo an alteration of heart:

Allí hizo gran obra el poder de la sabia Felicia, que aunque allí no estaba, con poderosas yerbas y palabras, y por muchos otros medios procuró que Syreno començasse a tener afición a Diana. Y no fué gran maravilla, porque los influxos de las celestes estrellas tanto a ello le inclinaban, que pareció no ser nascido Syreno sino para Diana ni Diana sino para Syreno.
(DE, 202)

Polo's lovers are transformed "internally" at the Temple of Diana; there is no deus ex machina in the DE.

Once remedied, the various couples are led into "honesto y casto matrimonio" (DE, 206), in which "loable y honesto amor" (DE, 205) reigns. As has been mentioned, Felicia has not merely imposed a cure on the various lovers, she has, in the words of Arsileo, succeeded in altering their "entrañas" and "voluntad" (DE, 205). As a result of her remedy, Polo's lovers become intrinsically different creatures with new perceptual and intellectual powers. Determined to remain "obedientes" to her "mandamientos" (DE, 211), they vow to venerate all of her teachings, particularly her injunction to be chaste (DE, 258). Having embarked on a new life as a consequence of Felicia's teachings, Polo's lovers are reminded by the goddess that it would have been better had they been able to live with enough discretion not to need her assistance (DE, 258). Although Felicia has been instrumental in their

recent renewal, these lovers can no longer expect to depend on her aid. From now on, they are on their own:

No tengáis de hoy más atrevimiento de abalanzaros a semejantes trances con esperanças de ser remediados como agora lo fuistes, que no tenéis tanta razón de estar confiados por la salud que a vosotros se os dió, como temerosos por los desastres que a muchos enamorados acontecieron.¹⁴

(DE, 259)

Unlike Montemayor's potion, which begins and ends with the lovers it serves, Polo's remedy is not merely a release from present torment; it is the beginning of a new life based on sounder and truer philosophical principles. It also serves as an exemplum by which other lovers will be able to avoid the pitfalls of comparable discontent (DE, 258). Future lovers are exhorted to adhere to the lessons learned in the work, to try to avoid the "desengaño" that is basic to love, and to build a rational and virtuous life based on Felicia's teachings:

. . . vamos advertidos de no meternos en semejantes penas. . . . por uno que tuvo tal ventura se hallan mil cuyos largos y fatigosos trabajos con desesperada muerte fueron gualardonados.

(DE, 211)

In conclusion, we have seen that Polo takes up and often refutes a significant number of Montemayor's most recurrent themes, particularly those dealing with the causes and cures of discontent in love. To some extent, the DE can be read as a refutation of Montemayor's pessi-

mistic notion that the lover is intrinsically powerless and ineffectual. By contrast, Polo stresses man's latent powers and his ability to rectify his life, with adequate guidance. It is, in fact, due to this stress on guidance, on man's necessary dependence on an external authority, that Polo has been identified with post-Tridentine orthodoxy in this study. In the DE, man, though not bonded of the will, or inclined to irrationality and folly, or victimized by love, as he is in the Diana, suffers from a marked proclivity to error and an inability to recognize that error or undo its horrific effects, on his own. Only as a consequence of recourse to the intermediating agency represented by Felicia can this proclivity be checked. We have seen that Felicia plays a crucial role in both Dianas, but, if in the Diana her ministry is merely one of magical transposition, in the DE she functions as an instructress in the nature of human relationships and in the various channels open to man for the attainment of felicity. As a result of exposure to Felicia, Polo's lovers are brought to a new understanding of themselves and of their profoundest relationships. Felicia's ministry is in some ways reminiscent of that ministry provided by the Roman Catholic Church. Both draw a normative balance between the viable state of the human intellect and man's need for an intercessor. Both regard themselves not as ends in themselves, but as means to the end of human sal-

vation. It is further significant that Montemayor, who may have been affected by some aspects of the Reformation, adduces a pessimistic picture of the human intellect and equips his lovers, not with an intercessor in the traditional sense, but with a wizard, whose operations are of little consequence to the human soul. Although Polo has gone far in transforming Montemayor's assumptions into a new voluntarism, he has not done away with human dependence on an external agency. It now remains for a subsequent writer to carry this individualism to an even further degree by omitting the intermediary altogether and, in fact, replacing her with an evil force which pervades the universe, a force against which the human will is locked in lonely struggle. This is, in part, the achievement of the two Arcadias of Sir Philip Sidney.

NOTES

¹The plight of Montemayor's lovers was elaborated twenty-five years ago by Bruce W. Wardropper in a seminal monograph on the D: "The Diana of Montemayor: Revaluation and Interpretation," SP, 48 (1951), 126-44. See pp. 135-36.

²See also D, 195-96. These sentiments occur amidst the bodily incorporation of a long passage from the Dialoghi into the D (pp. 194-201). Felismena had already touched upon the theme of the basic irrationality of love in an earlier part of the work:

"No es el amor de manera . . . que pueda el que lo tiene, tener respecto a la razón, ni la razón es parte para que un enamorado corazón dexé el camino por do sus fieres destinos le guiaren."

(D, 94)

³Darst, p. 389, somehow finds in such discontent a platonic significance. Due to the inconstancy of lovers, one also encounters throughout the D a skeptical attitude toward the effects of "ausencia," or the separation of lovers. Sireno is at first very averse to leaving Diana because "la ausencia . . . es capital enemiga del amor" (D, 105). There are also two debates on "ausencia" in the D (pp. 69-70, between Selvagia and Sylvano, and p. 202, between Belisa and Cynthia). The latter, it may be pointed out, argues that, although the memory of her separated lover has inspired her will and thereby has fostered desire in her for him, the memory cannot function in this manner indefinitely; it is "una cosa que quanto más va, más pierde su fuerza y vigor" (D, 202). Even Polo's Felicia, who holds a much loftier view of the psychology of lovers than anyone in the D, seems aware of the potential dangers of "ausencia": "buena señal es de amor tener miedo de la ausencia" (DE, 180).

⁴This is T. A. Perry's theme, p. 231.

⁵Perry, p. 228, denies that this reliance on magic has pessimistic implications. "If love is irrational and fatalistic," he contends, "how can it lead to happiness?"

⁶An incongruous piece of advice in this work, where no teleology or providential design are apparent! See D, 223, where Felicia makes no fewer than four references to God, to Whom no previous allusion had been made in the work. See also D, 239-40. Felicia's religious references augment her mystical proportions but are belied by her magical operations.

⁷Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce, La novela pastoril española (Madrid, 1959), regards the potion as an indication that the poet was unable to deal with reality (p. 64); Green, II, 328, interprets it as a comment on the "relative and temporary" nature of the pains of love; Perry, p. 232, views it as "a cluster of universal symbols that the mind . . . spontaneously revives to illuminate and cope with a particular situation"; Darst, p. 391, contends that the potion is the means by which Montemayor's lovers move from "perception through the senses to perception by means of the intellect." Not all of Felicia's cures, however, involve the potion. Don Felis, for example, is caused to become truly enamored of Felismena by witnessing her "valor y hermosura" (D, 298). Ambushed by some attackers and nearly slain by them (D, 294-95), Felis is saved by Felismena, who, like Spenser's Britomart, is as much a warrior as she is a woman. His wounds treated by Dórida, Felicia's servant, Felis learns to appreciate the virtue and noble example of the woman who loves him more than anything else in the world. From this awareness of Felismena's great merit, then, flows Felis' devotion and love. Unlike the other love situations in the D, the Felis-Felismena story points, in a small way, to the convergence of virtue, love, and will, upon which Sidney will build his Arcadian romances two decades later. Arsileo and Belisa are also restored to each other without the aid of magic (D, 246-58).

⁸A. Solé-Leris, "The Theory of Love in the Two Dianas: A Contrast," BHS, 36 (1959), 67 and 71. According to this commentator, Polo identifies "maligno amor" with "amor terreno," because, "no matter how chaste and spiritual in appearance, love which is irrational is only disguised desire, maligno amor" (p. 76).

⁹In order to stress this theme, Polo was forced to make certain obvious alterations of character and plot in his continuation of the D. Ferreres, p. xxix, briefly sketches these. The onomastic significance of the various

names employed in the Dianas has never been adequately studied. The fashion has been to identify these characters with an assortment of contemporary personages (See López Estrada, pp. xxi-xxviii). Both Dianas do contain a large number of references to various figures from the Iberian peninsula (e.g. Montemayor's "Canto de Orpheo," D, 180-92, and Polo's "Canto de Turia," DE, 144-72); however, the ironic resonances of such names as "Diana" and "Sireno" and the suggestive connotation of "Selvagia," "Felis," and "Felicia," etc. have gone largely unstudied.

¹⁰Although jealousy is to be shunned, some "temor" is expected in the lover, for, as Marcelio explains, the lover naturally fears that a third party may fail to recognize and acknowledge the "bondad y merescimiento" due the beloved (DE, 88). If, he goes on, fear conquers faith, the lover will submit to jealousy; if, by contrast, faith is victorious, the lover emerges "alegre y bien afortunado" (*idem*).

¹¹See also DE, 24, where Alcida points out the extent to which the lover can permit himself to become subservient to love:

" . . . si [amor] algún poder tiene, es porque los hombres mesmos dexan vencerse voluntariamente, ofresciéndole sus corazones, y poniendo en sus manos la propria libertad."

¹²"Pintáronlo mochacho, porque los hombres en el no se fien; ciego, porque no le sigan; armado, porque le teman; con llamas, porque no se le lleguen, y con alas, para que por vano le conozcan."

(DE, 26)

¹³It is significant that Felicia exploits the human inclination toward "desengaño" as part of her methodology (DE, 176). See Green, IV, 43-76, for an extensive treatment of the theme of "desengaño."

¹⁴Contrast the words of Montemayor's Felicia to the remedied lovers: ". . . mi favor jamás os podrá faltar. . ." (D, 228). Presumably, she expects much less from the lover than does Polo's Felicia.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POWER OF LOVE AND THE LIMITATIONS OF MAN IN THE ARCADIAS

Since it is likely that Sidney had access to the Dianas, it would be instructive to reconsider his attitudes to love from the point of view of the Iberian pastoral precedent. Do the Arcadias take up any of the themes of these works? If so, how does Sidney approach the problem of discontent in the world, a problem that was seen to have vast theological purport in the Dianas? In order to consider these questions, we will first have to scrutinize Sidney's presentation of lover and love in the Arcadias. Does he, like Montemayor, stress the power of love over the generally passive individual? Does he, like Polo, subordinate the force of love to the latent powers of the lover? Or does he present a new synthesis?

Love is a force of considerable glory and power in both Arcadias. It dominates the universe and brings dignity and fruition to the true lover. In the midst of his lengthy account of his (and Pyrocles') former

travels, Musidorus rapturizes on "the admirable power and noble effects of love,"

whereby the seeming insensible Loadstone, with a secret beauty (holding the spirit of iron in it) can draw that hard-harted thing unto it, and like a vertuous mistresse) not onely make it bow it selfe, but with it make it aspire to so high a Love, as of the heavenly Poles; and thereby to bring foorth the noblest deeds, that the children of the Earth can boast of.

(NA, 191-92)

Pyrocles, Musidorus' cousin-german and close friend, concurs throughout the work with this lofty tone but also stresses the mysteries of love:

[Love is] that wonderful passion which to be defined is impossible, by reason no words reach near to the strange nature of it. They only know it which inwardly feel it.¹

(OA, 11-12)

Indeed, such phrases as "the strange power of love" (NA, 338) and love's "divine power" (NA, 98) pervade both Arcadias and indicate that the poet regarded love as a force beyond the scope of human language to express and human reason to conceive. Such a force occupies center stage in the Arcadias. It is a primum mobile, a universal and irresistible power, secondary in importance to nothing in the world.²

It is, however, precisely the very theme of love's power and significance with which Musidorus takes issue in his debate with Pyrocles in the early sections of the Arcadia. Interestingly, Musidorus' early attitude to

love is awry because he, by contrast with Pyrocles, has not yet fallen in love, and "they only know it which inwardly feel it." His view of human psychology is therefore rigid and insensitive:

Remember . . . if we will be men, the reasonable part of our soul is to have absolute commandment, against which if any sensual weakness arise, we are to yield all our sound forces to the overthrowing of so unnatural a rebellion; wherein, how can we want courage, since we are to deal against so weak an adversary that in itself is nothing but weakness? Nay, we are to resolve that if reason direct it, we must do it; and if we must do it, we will do it; for to say I cannot is childish, and I will not womanish.

(OA, 19)

Such rigorous rationalism is very much in keeping with Polo's psychology in the DE.³ Like Polo, Musidorus contends that love is greatly overrated:

Let us see what power is the author of all these troubles; forsooth, love; love, a passion, and the basest and fruitfulessest of all passions.

(OA, 19)

In conformity with the themes of the DE, further, Musidorus proceeds to catalogue the various ill-effects of love; for example, the "unquietness, longings, fond comforts, faint discomforts, hopes, jealousies, ungrounded rages, causeless yielding," etc., that are "companions" of love (OA, 20).⁴ Nor does Musidorus admit that divine or virtuous love can be grounded in the world of the senses:

As the love of heaven makes one heavenly,
 the love of virtue, virtuous, so doth the
 love of the world make one become worldly.
 (OA, 20)

Such an abstractly philosophical and mechanistic view of love, according to Pyrocles, has very little to do with its true nature.⁵

If Pyrocles' response to Musidorus' derogation of love can be read as a possible response to some of the love themes raised in the Dianas, it is interesting that Pyrocles' first impulse is to defend the reputation of love to which he attributes "the honour of the highest power of the mind" (OA, 22). Also, he assigns the responsibility for love's ill effects not to love itself, but to the lover:

For those kinds of bitter objections (as that lust, idleness, and a weak heart should be, as it were, the matter and form of love), rather touch me . . . than love.
 (OA, 22)

Pyrocles' stress is on individual responsibility, but it is a responsibility that is a consequence, not of human degeneracy, but of human weakness:

Those troublesome effects you say it breeds be not the fault of love, but of him that loves, as an unable vessel to bear such a power — like ill eyes, not able to look on the sun, or like a weak brain, soonest overthrown with the best wine.
 (OA, 22)

The lover is, in other words, inextricably caught between the demands of his own nature and the universal hegemony

of love. To deny either is folly; even the skeptical Musidorus eventually falls victim to the power of love (OA, 41 ff.):

I recant, I recant! . . . O thou celestial or infernal spirit of love, . . . have compassion of me, and let thy glory be as great in pardoning them that be submitted to thee as in conquering those that were rebellious.
(OA, 42)

Musidorus comes to realize that love is not a monster, after all, but a formidable force whose means are justified by its ends:

O Love, it is thou that doost it: thou changest name upō name; thou disguisest our bodies, and disfigurest our mindes. But in deed thou hast reason, for though the wayes be foule, the journeyes end is most faire and honourable.
(NA, 117)

In addition to its great glory and power, love is portrayed in the Arcadias as the progenitor of many good effects. It is variously spoken of as "the refiner of invention" (NA, 86), which is far-seeing despite its blindness (NA, 176), which banishes "allvain fancy of superstition" (NA, 172), and which can endue the lover with great strength (NA, 27). Love can also contribute to the lover's store of virtue, as Pamela mockingly declares of Musidorus' "courtship" of Mopsa:

[This] love . . . hath brought you to the consideration of her virtues, and the consideration may have made you the more virtuous, and so the more worthy.⁶
(OA, 101)

Further, it is because of love that many noble deeds are performed, for "there is no service like his, that serves because he loves" (NA, 291). Not only does the true lover effectively serve, he himself is the beneficiary of the service of love:

Lust may well be, a tyrant, but true-love
where it is indeed, it is a servant.
(NA, 451)

Love itself is the cause of many of the noble feats carried out by Musidorus and Pyrocles on behalf of humanity⁷ and is the basis of the mercy and restraint exhibited by Amphialus during the Captivity Episode.⁸ It is also the bond that links and ennobles the unfortunate lovers, Argalus and Parthenia, despite the many obstacles against them, particularly the stratagems of the vile Demagoras (NA, 29 ff.).

In addition to its various good effects, love is depicted in the Arcadias as an unavoidable force, a depiction which is largely reminiscent of Montemayor's Diana. The converted Musidorus affirms the unavoidability of love:

Who will resist it, must either have no
witte, or put out his eyes? can any man
resist his creation? certainly by love we
are made, and to love we are made.
(NA, 113)

To attempt to shun love's force is to "fly" oneself (OA, 49) and to show oneself "to be a hater of virtue and unworthy to live in the society of mankind" (NA, 49). Further,

such a denial is self-destructive, because "love to a yeelding hart is a king; but to a resisting, is a tyrant" (NA, 115). Indeed, the Arcadias are replete with various figures who, having denied the sanctity and unavoidability of love, bring about their own ruination. As Musidorus contends, it is much more facile to "reprehend" love than to "refrain" from it (OA, 392). Even Anaxius, who scorns women and love itself as an inferior passion, is unable to withstand the force of the sisters' virtuous beauty. As he enters Pamela's chamber door in order to rape her, Anaxius is overwhelmed by her radiant demeanor:

When he was come into the chamber, with the very words of cholerike threatning climbing up his throate, his eies first lighted upon Pamela; who hearing he was comming, and looking for death, though she would keepe her owne majestie in welcomming it; but the beames thereof so strake his eyes, with such a counterbuffe unto his pride, that if his anger could not so quickly love, nor his pride so easily honor, yet both were forced to find a worthinesse.

(NA, 504)

Anaxius is only one of an assortment of characters in the Arcadias who are unable to deny the power of love for any sustained period of time. Another is Cecropia, to whom love is a "childish passion" (NA, 365-66), worthy only of its most immediate gratifications, i.e., lust for and power over others. Despite her frequent exhortations to Amphialus to curb and control his love for Philoclea, her son is unable to satisfy her will; his first loyalty is to love, and not his mother. Cecropia's dream of

dominion over the world and the destruction of the ruling family, then, ends in confusion and destruction due to her son's inability to avoid or evade the power of love.⁹

Another figure who invites her own ruination by discrediting the value and denying the unavoidability of love is Erona, Princess of Lycia (NA, 232 ff.). At the age of nineteen, she prevails upon her father, the King, "utterly to pull downe, and deface all [the] statues and and pictures" of Cupid which were widely adored in the kingdom. Her purpose is to discontinue the superstitious worship of this naked and false god (NA, 232). It is Erona herself, however, who is brought to humiliation. Within a year of this sacrilege, she is "stricken with most obstinate Love" for Antiphilus, "a yong man but of mean parentage . . . so meane, that he was but the sonne of her Nurse" (NA, 232). Despite her father's efforts to dissuade her of this match, Erona is steadfast, so much so that her father dies of a broken heart.¹⁰

Then foorthwith Erona (being seized of the crowne, and arming her will with authoritie) sought to advance her affections to the holy title of matrimonie.

(NA, 233)

Ultimately and inevitably, Antiphilus, whose name suggests opposition to love, proves to be a malicious and destructive force in Erona's life. Unable to "perceive that he was a king of reasonable creatures," and "puffed" by "everie winde of passions," Antiphilus "quickly made his kingdome a

Teniscourt, where his subjects should be the balles" (NA, 330). If that is not enough, he repudiates Erona for the vindictive and ferocious Artaxia and even recruits his wife to woo this witch on his behalf. Eventually, Erona's kingdom is totally lost, first to Antiphilus and subsequently to Artaxia, who, on becoming Antiphilus' new queen, consigns both her spouse and Erona to prison and engineers the brutal destruction of the former by a band of young women (NA, 329-38). It is significant that Erona and Antiphilus, both of whom had originally forsworn and profaned love, ultimately become its most hapless victims, resigned to and in some ways relishing, their barren servitude. As Basilius, Sidney's narrator of this episode, explains to "Zelmane," his auditor, such a story bears testimony to the "straunge power of Love, and what is due to his authoritie" (NA, 338).¹¹ Such a sentiment would not have been misplaced in the Diana.

Not only is love an unavoidable and undeniable force in the universe, it is also capable of striking at any time, often leaving the victim defenseless and bewildered. Love can "with the extremest anguish . . . at any time . . . plague the mind" (OA, 98), and the Arcadias abound with instances of love at first sight.¹² Even a Queen, Gynecia, is not above it:

It reduced her whole mind to an extreme and
unfortunate slavery — pitifully, truly,
considering her beauty and estate. . . .
(OA, 48)

In the Arcadias, since "love . . . never staid to aske Reasons leave" (NA, 355), and reason is often "a servant to passion" (NA, 93), it is not surprising that a large assortment of lovers love most imperfectly. As Pyrocles declares,

. . . Love . . . hath a sporte sometimes to
poison me with roses, sometimes to heale me
with wormwood. . . . (NA, 281)

The weakness of many of Sidney's lovers is explained by a basic event, which, though operative in the OA, is given particular attention in the NA; i.e., the disappearance from the world of Venus Urania, mother of divine love. Urania, also known as the Celestial Venus and Aphrodite Ourania, had "throwne reason upon our desires, and . . . given eyes unto Cupid" (NA, 8).¹³ Now, Venus, mother of Blind Cupid, remains, and love is quite out of joint and lovers are in a fallen state. This state of affairs is expressed by the unfortunate Philisides: "Virtue is angry, . . . fierceness can with a white dove abide, . . . and faith and love [are] rewarded with mortal disdain, bent to unendly revenge" (OA, 342). Even a less unfortunate lover such as Pyrocles (disguised as "Cleophila") is cognizant of the wrongs that love can inflict on lovers:

O love, since thou art so changeable in men's
estates, how art thou so constant in their
torments?

(OA, 46)

Indeed, in his other writings as well, Sidney manifests a

sustained interest in the theme of fallen love. Astrophil, for example, is deeply troubled by the effects of his "desire [which] doth plunge my wel-form'd soule even in the mire/Of sinfull thoughts which do in ruine end" (A&S, XIV, 6-8).¹⁴ Even the beneficent influence of Stella is not sufficiently potent to undo the ill-effects of love:

Cannot heavn's food, once felt, keepe stomakes free
From base desire on earthly cates to pray?
(A&S, LXXXVIII, 7-8)

It is not that Sidney's lovers are oblivious to the nature of true love, it is that they are generally unable to attain it. In his reference to the poet's mission to rectify "that first accursed fall of Adam" in the Defence of Poesie, Sidney points out that "our erected wit maketh us know what perfecti^on is, and yet our infected wil keepeth us fr^om reaching unto it" (Works, III, 9). In the Arcadias, human love reflects this condition. Reason and passion are often at odds, and only rarely does the former emerge victorious.¹⁵ It is a world where rebellious passion has "shaked" reason's sovereignty (OA, 218), where many men "servile-ly yeeld to al appetites" (NA, 23), and where human reason is far less capable of regeneration than in the DE. Many of Sidney's lovers are "wrapt in [the] foggie mist of . . . selfe-love" (NA, 228) and are victims of "the foolish idolatrie of affection" (NA, 436). It is, indeed, pride, that of Cecropia and Basilius, that brings Arcadia to the brink of ruination.

Although love, in the Arcadias, has fallen from its original high state and the lover is saddled with "the limits of reason" (NA, 68), one finds no derogation of either the lover or love as one encounters in the DE. For Sidney, "love [at] one time layeth burthens, another time giveth wings" (NA, 154). Although the foolish and ignorant Miso is capable of believing that love is a monster,¹⁶ a true lover such as Pyrocles realizes that, whatever its imperfections, "love were very unlovely if it were half so deadly as you lovers . . . term it" (OA, 219). Like Montemayor, Sidney stops short of indicting either the lover or the force of love. Although "we are men, and should knowe reason why we doo things" (NA, 455), we are also prone to the influence of love in a fallen world and limited by our "imperfect proportion of reason, which can too much foresee, and so little prevent" (OA, 92). That even the true lover, further, is subject to the power of love is testified in "Cleophila's" song (NA, 28-29), where he describes his "poor reason's overthrow," and in the liberties that he takes with Philoclea just prior to the attack of the lion and the she-bear (OA, 46-47). One does not encounter, that is, a rigid position on the culpability of the lover or of love in Sidney's romances.

Sidney, then, unlike his Iberian predecessors, does not generate a sharp distinction between the lover

and love. Although by no means conciliatory toward the nature and consequences of fallen love, he also stops short of condemning these. His lovers are not exonerated from their crimes or wrongdoings, but neither are they portrayed as totally responsible, due to their fallen nature and to fallen love. Sidney assuredly expects less perfection from his lovers than Polo does from his. Nevertheless, some of the lovers in the Arcadias, almost as if under the influence of some of the more rigid Reformers, wallow in guilt and self-punishment, just as Montemayor's lovers had wallowed in self-pity and inertia. Unlike their counterparts in the Diana, moreover, Sidney's lovers encounter little difficulty in acting on behalf of their convictions and impulses. What sometimes trammels them is the deep sense of personal worthlessness that follows upon their most reprehensible actions. An emblem of this condition is Gynecia, who, as Basilius' Queen and Philoclea's mother, "was like a horse desirous to runne, and miserablie spurred, but so short rainde, as he cannot stirre forward" (NA, 95). The young and still beautiful spouse of a ridiculous senex whose fidelity to her is most questionable, Gynecia is unable to resist becoming passionately attracted to Pyrocles. She is, however, tortured by her adulterous feelings, her disloyalty to her husband and daughter, and her unqueenly preoccupations:

Ah chastest bed of mine . . . which never
heretofore couldst accuse me of one defiled
thought, how canst thou now receive this

disastered changeling? . . . O forgotten
virtue. . . .

(OA, 112-13)

Gynecia's feelings are assuredly not admirable. Controlled by "deadly desires" (OA, 123) and overwhelmed, like Montemayor's lovers, by what seems to be irremediable discontent, she finally decides to confront Pyrocles in a cave, where, in a poignant soliloquy, she further depicts her despair:

Forlorn creature that I am, I would I might
be freely wicked, since wickedness doth
prevail; but the footsteps of my overtrodden
virtue lie still as bitter accusations unto
me. I am divided in myself; how can I stand?
. . . I desire but to assuage the sweltering
of my hellish longing.

(OA, 183)

Oblivious to a lesson eventually learned by Astrophil, i.e., that "knowne worth" increases passionate interest, Gynecia is far too severe with herself. Like Polo, she seems to be unaware of the wide-ranging effects of the Fall of Man; greater understanding of this principle would obviate such self-torture. When, finally, she tears off her clothes and throws herself at Pyrocles (OA, 205), she is spared from a tragic fate only by a supreme act of virtue and wit on the young Prince's part.

The causes and consequences of lustful feelings in lovers receive much attention in the Arcadias. Although tolerant of some controlled sensuality in lovers, Sidney is keenly aware of the vulnerability and weakness that such feelings can generate. Basilius' lechery (like Erona's and Gynecia's) can jeopardize the safety and well-being

of the state. Andromana's adulterous cast of mind precipitates the death of her beloved son and her own suicide (NA, 242 ff., 277 ff., and 288). Additionally, the deceitful philandering of Pamphilus, whose name means "loving all," results in the undoing of many young maidens, including the bitter Dido, all of whom group together to flagellate him mercilessly until he is rescued by Pyrocles and Musidorus (NA, 264-69). When Pamphilus, unrepentant, proceeds to abduct and strip the gentle Dido, he is repulsed only when Pyrocles intervenes (NA, 270 ff.). His lustfulness is eventually punished when he is forced into wedlock with Baccha, "the most impudentlie unchaste woman of all Asia" (NA, 290). Not only, however, can "lust in action" lead to loss and ruination, so can extreme coldness to love. Sidney exemplifies this dialectic in his portrayal of Artesia, whose extreme disdain of any bestowal whatsoever amounts to a travesty of chastity and love (NA, 98 ff.).¹⁷

As has been mentioned, sensual attraction is not repudiated in the Arcadias or in Astrophil and Stella. Sidney's romance abounds with descriptions, for example, of Philoclea's stunning (and sometimes naked) beauty. In Book One of the OA, she appears in "her nymphlike apparel, so near nakedness as one might well discern part of her perfections, . . . her body covered with a light taffeta garment, so cut as the wrought smock came through it in many places (enough to have made a very restrained

imagination have thought what was under it)" (OA, 37). Later, when "Cleophila" returns from his successful bout with the lion, the terrified Philoclea runs toward him, "her light nymphlike apparel being carried up with the wind, that much of those beauties she would at another time have willingly hidden were presented to the eye of the thrice-wounded Cleophila" (OA, 47). Sensual beauty, however, can be problematic. For example, Pyrocles is overwhelmed and distracted from his virtuous path by the vision of Philoclea in her chamber:

She at the time . . . lay upon the top of her bed, having her beauties eclipsed with nothing but with a fair smock, . . . lying so upon her right side that the left thigh down to the foot yielded his delightful proportion to the full view. . . .
(OA, 231)

The effect of such beauty is potentially perilous. "Quite forgetting himself, and thinking therein already he was in the best degree of felicity," Pyrocles, "with too much love," becomes forgetful of the "great fruit of his love" (OA, 231), until restored by Philoclea's "pitiful accusing." Subsequently, however, both lovers are no longer able to resist and submit to "the excess of all kind joys" (OA, 242-43). Erotic play, when controlled, plays, that is, an essential role in the relationship of even true lovers. Pyrocles' and Philoclea's promise of marriage is accompanied by

. . . such imbracements, as it seemed their soules desired to meete, and their harts to kisse, as their mouthes did: which faine Pyrocles would have sealed with the chief armes of his desire but Philoclea commaunded to the contrary.

(NA, 261)

Although several of the lovers in the Diana sometimes submit to desire, Sidney seems to regard sensuality as a more intrinsic component of love than Montemayor does. A large assortment of Sidney's lovers are driven by sexual impulses that rarely surface in the Diana. Given his realistic psychology of man, it is not surprising that Sidney brought such a sustained interest in eroticism and sexuality to the pastoral romance.

He also brought the kiss (at least the kiss on a wide scale) to the genre. Sidney's model lovers are forever embracing and kissing each other; they savor contact. In this way, again, they are in contrast with the Iberial pastoral precedent. Most of Montemayor's lovers have only dim recollections of former fulfillment, and Polo's are cautioned against the dangers of physical love. If there is a figure in the Arcadias who cultivates the baiser even more than Pyrocles, it is Musidorus, who, it will be remembered, despite his early opposition to his cousin's subjection to and glorification of love, "was wounded with more sudden violence of love than ever Pyrocles was" (OA, 41). For example, immediately after slaying "the ugly bear,"

he turned to his lady Pamela (at that time in a swoon with extremity of fear), and softly taking her in his arms, he took the advantage to kiss and re-kiss her a hundred times, with such exceeding delight that he would often after say he thought the joy would have carried his life from him, had not the grief he conceived to see her in such case something diminished it.

(OA, 52)

Later, when Pamela falls asleep in the company of Musidorus, whose vows of virtue have allayed any suspicions she may otherwise have had, the temptations are too great for her beloved, and he is about to deceive her trust just as a "rascal company" attacks them. Discovered by Pamela, Musidorus is

. . . enraged betwixt a repentant shame of his promise-breaking attempt and the tyrannical fire of lust (which, having already caught hold of so sweet and fit a fuel), was past the calling back of reason's counsel).

(OA, 306)

After the rascals are repulsed, finally, the two lovers proceed to fall asleep, "delicately wound up one in another's arms" (OA, 314).¹⁸

Some of Sidney's lovers tend not only to be imperfect, but to be violent. Of the latter, Sidney manifests little tolerance in the Arcadias. Polo, perhaps following the precedent of the Greek romances, had been the first writer to bring violence and human malice to the pastoral romance; none to speak of had existed either in Sannazaro or Montemayor.¹⁹ It is interesting that the pastoral vision of Sidney, and later, of Spenser, is one

in which violent eruptions are always imminent.²⁰ In the Arcadias, love, though potentially a glorious force, can become most destructive "when he is bent to ruine" (NA, 258) and when the lover, like Anaxius, makes "Fortune his creator, and Force his God" (NA, 511). Sometimes resulting from discontent or frustration in love, it can overtake even the mildest lover. The gentle Philisides describes the manner in which it took hold of him:

Reason to my passion yielded,
 Passion unto my rage, rage to a hasty revenge.²¹
 (OA, 343)

Even the guilt-ridden Gynecia ponders violence and vengeance upon realizing that her designs on Pyrocles are doomed to failure:

No, no trust to it, hard-hearted tiger, I
 will not be the only actor of this tragedy!
 Since I must fall, I will press down some
 others with my ruins; since I must burn, my
 spiteful neighbors shall feel of my fire!
 . . . I will end my miseries with a notable
 example of revenge; and that accursed cradle
 of mine shall feel the smart of my wound,
 thou of thy tyranny, and lastly, . . .
 myself of my own work!
 (OA, 184)

Gynecia, of course, stops short of carrying out these plans, but such does not hold true for all of Sidney's characters. Andromana, for example, is an unstable ruler who is herself ruled by a "most violent bent of affection" (NA, 279).²² After deceiving her new husband, the King of Iberia, into disowning and exiling Plangus, his own son and her former lover, she ultimately acquires full power over

her husband and his kingdom (NA, 242 ff.). Subsequently, after falsely accusing and imprisoning Pyrocles and Musidorus (NA, 277 ff.), she becomes sexually desirous of both, or either:

. . . her eyes wandered (like a glutton at a feast) from the one to the other; . . . her wordes would beginne halfe of the sentence to Musidorus, & end the other half to Pyrocles. . . .
(NA, 279)

Naturally violent, Andromana reacts, like Potiphar's wife, virulently and vindictively to the cousins' profession of disinterest, as a result of which she has them "accused" to the King (NA, 280). What Andromana and other such violent lovers fail to realize is that "force" can never be the "schoole of Love" (NA, 280-81), a theme frequently repeated by Sidney.²³ The lover takes false love "into himselfe willingly," but is "takẽ forcibly" by true love (NA, 243).

Perhaps the most noteworthy instance of the horrors of violent love in the Arcadias involves the wealthy Laconian, Demagoras, who begins as a determined suitor for the hand of Parthenia. Deeply in love with the virtuous Argalus, however, Parthenia rejects Demagoras' suit, against the wishes of her mother:

Before her [Parthenia's] worde could tie her to Demagoras, her harte hath vowed her to Argalus. . . .
(NA, 33)

Unlike, that is, Montemayor's Diana, who chooses the "bienes de fortuna" over the "bienes de naturaleza," Parthenia is interested only in true merit. In Argalus, she has found

someone who, though of a lower economic degree than Demagoras, was matchless in "valour of minde, and habilitie of bodie . . . his worde ever ledde by his thought, and followed by his deede" (NA, 31). Parthenia's rejection leaves Demagoras fulminating with "disdayned love, and envious pride" (NA, 34). As soon as Argalus is absent for a few days, Demagoras perpetrates a wicked revenge: he

rubd all over her face a most horrible poyson:
the effect whereof was such that never leaper
lookt more ugly thẽ she did.

(NA, 34)

Banished, he proceeds to join and ultimately to become general of a band of Helots, "lately in rebellion against [the] state," and under his generalship are committed "the most outragious villanies, that a base multitude (full of desperate revenge) can imagine" (NA, 34). As glorious as true love can be in the Arcadias, it can, if frustrated and uncontrolled, plunge to iniquitous and reprehensible depths, for which there is no justification or exculpation. Demagoras' rage and its consequences eloquently testify to this.

It will be recalled that Montemayor and Polo differed quite widely in their presentation of jealousy, another symptom of the imperfection of human love. In the Diana, it is portrayed as an unavoidable facet of true love, whereas in the DE, it is maligned as a monster which divides the lover from the beloved, "un apocado temor de lo que no es ni será" (DE, 85). Like both Montemayor and Polo, Sidney regards jealousy as difficult to avoid, if avoidable at all. Even his model lovers are subject to its power. For

example, on first learning that Musidorus has retracted his earlier denunciation of love and, in fact, fallen in love with a "goddess" of "infinite beauty," Pyrocles, thinking that his cousin has become enamored of Philoclea, is "racked with jealousie" (NA, 114-15). Even the true and pure-hearted Philoclea, moreover, is subject to jealous suspicions about a putative alliance between "Cleophila" and her mother, Gynecia (OA, 208 ff.). Even Sidney's rebellious mob submits to jealous division:

. . . their united rage was now growne, not only to a dividing, but to a crossing one of another, . . . [until they had] growne jealous one of another. . . .
(NA, 315-16)

Although to some extent unavoidable, jealousy, like sexual passion, must be controlled. Dicus' epithalamion attests to this:

. . . above all, away vile jealousy,
The ill of ill, just cause to be unjust,
(How can he love, suspecting treachery?
How can she love where love cannot win trust?)
Go snake, hide thee in dust,
Ne dare once show thy face
Where open hearts do hold so constant place;
That they thy sting restrain,
O Hymen long their coupled joys maintain.²⁴
(OA, 248)

The dangers of uncontrolled jealousy are further expounded by Nico, in his story about a "jealous wretch who was made/ The pander of the thing he most did fear" (OA, 249-53).²⁵ Throughout the Arcadias, jealousy is more than a monster as depicted by Dicus and Nico; it is a force which often trammels the designs of the four protagonist-lovers.

Pyrocles, for example, is impeded by "the cumbersome folly of Basilius" and "the enraged jealousy of Gynecia" (OA, 174).²⁶ Indeed, the Queen's jealousy serves as a major interference to the love of Pyrocles and Philoclea:

Zelmane as much as Gynecias jealousie would suffer, desired to be neere Philoclea; Philoclea, as much as Gynecias jealousie would suffer, desired to be neere Zelmane.
(NA, 170)

Further, the "light-grounded jealousies" of Basilius are largely responsible for Musidorus' decision to abscond with Pamela (OA, 172). In a world, that is, where reason has fallen to such depths as in Arcadia, the artful lover can sometimes exploit the jealous inclinations of those who impede or oppose his love. It is this that Musidorus accomplishes when he deceives Miso into suspecting Dametas, her husband, of infidelity, thereby clearing the way for his escape with Pamela (OA, 185 ff.). Miso's jealousy is mixed with "the poison of envy" (OA, 192) on her hearing of the beautiful shepherdess ("Charita") with whom Dametas is allegedly dallying. She is totally deceived by this stratagem, "for her heart [was] apt to receive and nourish a bitter thought," and, "in the very anatomy of her spirits [would] have found nothing but devilish disdain and hateful jealousy" (OA, 269).

Although, as we have seen, several of Sidney's characters vilify jealousy, Sidney falls short of condemning it, as long as it does not lead to violence. Unlike his

Iberian predecessors, further, he demonstrates a sustained interest in the psychology of jealousy. In an extended passage on this theme, Sidney indicates that Gynecia's jealousy may emerge from her psychological condition, i.e., her "unquiet heart" and the "fever" of her "sickness."²⁷ In keeping with the major themes of his work, Sidney does not condemn human weakness; he seeks to understand its nature and causes. Only those imperfections that bring misery to others or break the natural law receive condemnation in the Arcadias. Gynecia's weakness, for example, is not totally ascribed to her own responsibility. We learn of her unfortunate and ill-advised marriage to the foolish and stubborn Basilius, a man far too advanced in years and in folly to reciprocate the needs of a young and passionate woman.²⁸ This pre-arranged marriage has left the still-beautiful Gynecia anguished and frustrated, and Basilius' egoism is such that he is totally unaware of the source or significance of his spouse's discontent. He actually speculates that it may be due to her suspicions concerning his "relationship" with "Cleophila" (OA, 112). It is therefore not surprising that Gynecia is in the conflict that she is. Unlike Montemayor's lovers, she does not merely wallow in melancholy, but, unlike Sidney's Andromana, she is incapable of engineering the most devious plots to gratify her desires. Gynecia has a conscience, and it is only as a result of her intense guilt and expiation

for her various crimes, the "adultery" and the "murder," that she is forgiven and redeemed, and her marriage is reaffirmed. In the Arcadias, discontent often emerges from, and is remedied only by, the individual soul.

In conclusion, Sidney's romances do seem to take up some of the themes worked out in the Dianas, particularly those dealing with the relative power of love and the lover. We have seen that Sidney tends to steer a via media course between, first, Montemayor's glorification and Polo's deflation of love's power and, second, Montemayor's tolerance for and Polo's condemnation of the lover's imperfections and helplessness. Although not condoning such imperfections (indeed, he describes their potentially vicious and violent consequences in great detail), Sidney places them in the context of man's fallen reason and "infected" will. Since man is imperfect and human love has fallen, the lover should not be maligned for stumbling or faltering every now and then. Sidney also avoids making a well-defined differentiation between lover and love, stressing instead their dynamic interaction and interdependence. Further, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters, in the Arcadias, man, despite his shortcomings, is not doomed to perennial discontent. He is assuredly subject to love's tyranny, to the folly, the jealousy, and the lustful assaults that seem intrinsic to love, and yet, he is capable of correcting his condition

by cultivating his virtue, which, "if not a god, [is] yet God's chief part" (OA, 247). In the Arcadias, as in The Faerie Queene (I.vii.41), "flesh may empaire . . . but reason can repaire." Although "infected" by the Fall of Man, man can "erect" his wit to better, though not perfect, his condition. In conformity, then, with the teachings of the Church of England, Sidney views man, not as hopelessly degenerate, but as capable of working out, albeit on a limited basis, his own regeneration. In Sidney's romances, as we have seen, man is assuredly not all-powerful; there exist superior forces in the world and in the human personality that are staggering and unavoidable. Their existence, however, does not demean or disqualify man; instead, they require that he aspire to virtue and honorable conduct. The many instances of violence that pervade the Arcadias indeed testify to the danger of succumbing to these forces and losing control of the self. Sidney's stress is on the individual. We must now explore the role of the human will in achieving contentment in a fallen world. Granted his imperfect nature, just how far can man go on his own?

NOTES

¹Compare A&S, LIV, 12-14:

"[Love's] right badge is but worne in the hart:
Dumbe Swannes, not chatring Pies, do Lovers prove,
They love indeed, who quake to say they love."

²In A&S, LXXV, Sidney praises the somewhat unpraiseworthy Edward IV because this "worthy knight" chose "to lose his Crowne, rather than faile his Love." Since the same can be said of the ridiculous and unadmirable Basilius, one should question Sidney's tone and intent in this sonnet. Note comparable paeans to love in Spenser's Colin Clouts Come Home Again, 783 ff. and 841 ff.

³Such a comparison seems less remote than Walter R. Davis's contention that the Musidorus-Pyrocles love discussion poses a dramatization of a split among the neoplatonists, concerning the love theories held by Ficino, as opposed to those held by some of his later popularizers. More specifically, Pyrocles is said to endorse Ficino's view that there are three kinds of love, bestial, human, and divine, while Musidorus is said to uphold the view of Betussi, Equicola, and others, that only two kinds of love exist, human (which is indistinguishable from amor ferinus) and divine. See Davis, pp. 69 and 123.

⁴The Pyrocles-Musidorus love debate is also reminiscent of the debate on the value and power of love between Marcelio and Diana in the DE, 78-80. Marcelio attacks love, and Diana defends it.

⁵A view of love as rigid as Musidorus' is later expounded by Euarchus, for whom "right love . . . can never slide into any action that is not virtuous" (OA, 406-407). A comparable philosophy runs through the DE.

⁶Among the various good effects of love enumerated by Montemayor are "amor de la virtud" and "[el deseo] de alcanzar fama gloriosa" (D, 197-98).

⁷NA, II, contains considerable narrative on this subject. The most noteworthy instances are the slaying of the wicked kings of Phrygia (NA, 201) and of Pontus (NA, 204) and the quelling of the various mutinies that occur in the Arcadias (e.g., NA, 310 ff.).

⁸It is Amphialus' presence that prevents Cecropia from going ahead with some of her more vicious plots against the sisters. On learning, moreover, of the tortures and humiliation that his mother has perpetrated on Pamela and Philoclea, he is genuinely shocked and rushes into his mother's chamber with sword drawn (NA, 491-92).

⁹A similar fate befalls another queen, Andromana, when her son, Palladius, becomes enamored of the real Zelmane, who is hopelessly in love with the imprisoned Pyrocles (NA, 280 ff.). In both instances, further, the son has been named by his mother as her successor and the future ruler of a potent realm.

¹⁰It is edifying to ponder the extent to which Sidney's characters are more volitional, less inert than those in the Dianas. Erona is only one of Sidney's figures (in addition to Parthenia, Pamela, Musidorus, Pyrocles, and others) who refuse to submit to the dictates of authority; love has first precedence in their lives.

¹¹Another episode bearing testimony to the same principle concerns Pamphilus, who violates the sanctity of love by his incontinence and deceitful promiscuity (NA, 239 ff.).

¹²Other victims are Pyrocles (OA, 38-40), Musidorus (OA, 41), and Gynecia (OA, 48). Skepticism about love at first sight is voiced by Basilius (NA, 98) and Astrophil (A&S, II, 1-4).

¹³This theme is treated by Mark Rose, pp. 44-46, and Davis, pp. 89 ff.

¹⁴See also A&S, LXII, LXIII, and LXIV.

¹⁵This conflict is the subject of "the skirmish betwixt Reason and Passion" (OA, 135-36).

¹⁶". . . He had a paire of hornes like a Bull, his feete cloven, as many eyes upon his bodie, as my tray-mare hath dappels,& . . . sat like a hægman upō a paire of gallowes, in his right hand he was painted holding a

crowne of Laurell, in his left hand a purse of mony, & out of his mouth honge a lace of two faire pictures, of a mã & a womã, & such a couñtenance he shewed, as if he would perswade folks by those aluremẽts to come thither & be hanged."

(NA, 238)

¹⁷In luring men into service without guerdon, Artesia is reminiscent of another figure in early pastoral romance, Cruelcia, who forces upon Narbindel many "obrigações" but no "amor" in Bernardim Ribeiro's Menina e moça, pp. 55-57.

¹⁸Other instances of the passionate intimacy of Pyrocles can be found in OA, 46, NA, 166-67, NA, 216-18 ff., and NA, 490-91. See also Astrophil's baiser sonnets, A&S, LXXIX - LXXXII.

¹⁹Note, for example, the malicious stratagems and their violent consequences, engineered by the evil pilot, Bartofano, in DE, 52 ff.

²⁰Spenser's mature pastoral vision is one that begins with idyllic innocence and ends in devastation. See the "Pastorella Episode" in The Faerie Queene, VI, ix-xi.

²¹Astrophil's Fifth Song, 13-18 (A&S) shows how frustration can transform true caring into disdain.

²²In some ways, Andromana can be read as a foil to Gynecia. It is possible that, in rewriting the Arcadia, Sidney ascribed to Andromana some of the less flattering qualities explicitly or implicitly belonging to Gynecia in the OA.

²³Among Sidney's "forceful" characters whose designs are eventually thwarted are the rapacious Zoilus (NA, 512 ff.), his brother Anaxius, who makes "Fortune his creator, and Force his God" (NA, 511), and Cecropia, who unsuccessfully uses a variety of ploys (music, gifts, and assorted ruses) and torture to lure Philoclea into accepting Amphialus (NA, 381 ff.). Even Astrophil resolves, at one point, to be forceful with Stella, with predictable results (A&S, LXI).

²⁴See, also, A&S, LXXVIII, where Astrophil characterizes jealousy as a "monster" and a "Devill."

²⁵In several ways, this story parallels the Malbecco-Hellenore episode in The Faerie Queene, III, ix.

²⁶Different terminology is used in OA, 113, where Cleophila is said to be "watched by the two wakeful eyes of love [Basilius] and jealousy [Gynecia]."

²⁷"O jealousy, the frenzy of wise folks, the well wishing spite and unkind carefulness, the self-punishment for other's faults and self-misery in other's happiness, the sister of envy, daughter of love, and mother of hate, how couldst thou so quickly get thee a seat in the unquiet heart of Gynecia, a lady very fair in her strongest age, known wise and esteemed virtuous? It was thy breeder's power that planted thee there; it was the inflaming agonies of affection that drew on the fever of thy sickness in such sort that nature gave place."

(OA, 122)

²⁸In his superficial and reductive theories about the love problems of others, his Nestorian quality, his folly and slow-wittedness, and his role as senile father of the hero's innocent and pure-hearted beloved, Basilius anticipates Shakespeare's Polonius. Indeed, can one not interpret the relationship of Hamlet and Ophelia (whose name may be an anagram of "Philoclea") as a deliberate comment on the falling away of true love and fidelity in the world? It will be recalled that both Hamlet and Pyrocles have the responsibility of repairing the disjointedness of the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CAUSES AND CURES OF DISCONTENT: THEIR PLACE IN THE ARCADIAS

In the introduction to her edition of the Dianas, Judith M. Kennedy dismisses as "contemptuous irritation" Reynier's comment that "Montemayor's shepherds . . . forever sing their woes without doing anything to cure them."¹ There is, however, as we have seen, more to Reynier's observation than mere pique. Montemayor's lovers are generally portrayed as passive figures who, subjugated by the force of love, are unable to remedy their discontent without outside assistance. Subject to the tyranny of love and to the syndrome of irrationality that love can inflict, they are ultimately saved, not by their own operations, but by the intervention of Felicia, whose methods are largely supernatural. Polo's lovers, by contrast, are saved from their discontent by the lessons in rational living and realistic perception taught them by Felicia. In this chapter, we will explore Sidney's response to, and evaluation of, the presentation of discontent and its

remedia in the Dianas, a theme which will be seen to have significant implications for man and his relation to the Godhead.

Sidney, like his Iberian predecessors, viewed discontent as an inevitable dimension of human love. The Astrophil and Stella sequence (ca. 1582) is largely an anatomy of the lover's "blackest face of woe" (I, 5) that leaves him "tyr'd with wo, even ready for to pine/With rage of love" (LXII, 1-2). Like Montemayor's lovers, Astrophil finds himself largely helpless, reflecting on past glories:

I might, unhappie word, ô me, I might,
And then would not, or could not see my blisse:
Till now, wrapt in a most infernall night,
I find how heav'nly day wretch I did misse.
(A&S, XXXIII, 1-4)

Astrophil's powerlessness in the face of discontent is also reminiscent of various figures in the Arcadias, two romances that begin, like the Dianas, with widespread unfulfilment in love.² Indeed, one of Sidney's apparent objectives in rewriting the OA was to make a wider and more thorough exploration of discontent than was possible in the relatively limited confines of the earlier work. It will be recalled that Sidney's most extensive study of discontent in the OA involved the shepherd Philisides. The first time he appears, this forlorn figure is seen lying "upon the ground at the foot of a cypress tree, leaning upon his elbow, with so deep a melancholy that his senses carried to his mind no delight from any of [the shepherds]"

objects" (OA, 71). His first song indicates the extent of his helplessness:

If fortune's lap became my dwelling place,
 And all the stars conspired to my good,
 Still were I one, this still should be my case,
 Ruin's relic, care's web, and sorrow's food:
 Since she, fair fierce, to such a state me calls,
 Whose wit the stars, whose fortune fortune thralls.³
 (OA, 72)

Like Sireno, Philisides is not only resigned to the necessity of his torments, he is also unable to comprehend why his faith, "so stainless, inviolate, violent" (OA, 343), should have been "abolished" by his beloved. He is most crushed by her inconstancy:

Shall I not once object that you, you granted
 a favour
 unto the man whom now such miseries you award?
 Bend your thoughts to the dear sweet words which
 then to me giv'n were;
 think what a world is now, think who hath
 altered her heart.
 (OA, 344)

Above all, Philisides cannot understand the great mutability to which true love is subject:

What? was I then worthy such good, now worthy so
 much evil?
 now fled, then cherished? then so nigh, now
 so remote?
 (OA, 344)

Certain additions to the NA allow for a broader inquisition into this question than was possible in the OA. First, the disappearance of Urania, agonized over by the shepherd-poets, Strephon and Claius, has punctuated the ubiquity of discontent in the world (NA, 5 ff. and 349-51). Second, Sidney adds to the NA an assortment of

lovers who, like Philisides, "feelee an unloved love" (NA, 281). One of these is Queen Helen, who, like Montemayor's Belisa, has lost two suitors in a misunderstanding resulting in mortal combat involving both of them. She is left alone and distraught, in an endless search for her true love, Amphialus, the lone survivor of the battle, who, however, now despises her (NA, 64 ff.). In pathetic terms, Helen paints her misery:

. . . he wel inough foūd, I was the cause of
 al this mischief: & that if I were a man,
 he would go over the world to kill me: but
 bad me assure my selfe, that of all the crea-
 tures in the world, he most hated me.

(NA, 72)

Helen's condition, further, is irremediable, for Amphialus is himself enmeshed in a futile but all-absorbing quest of Philoclea. Sidney's lovers cannot look forward to the panacea of "desengaño" furnished by a benevolent agency, as Polo's lovers can. Like Philisides, therefore, Helen can assuredly aver that love is fraught with suffering and discontent. As can Palladius, who is hopelessly in pursuit of the real Zelmane (NA, 280 ff.). Loyal and constant, he serves his beloved with "diligẽce and faith, ever hoping, because he would not put him selfe into that hell, to be hopelesse" (NA, 281). Zelmane, however, is enamored of another, in this case, Pyrocles, who is himself committed to another. Palladius' discontent is therefore also irremediable. It ends only with his demise, as a result of "a traiterous blow" inadvertently administered

by one of his mother's hirelings (NA, 287). Realizing the error, Andromana proceeds to take her own life (NA, 288).

Although Sidney does not deny that good lovers often suffer most, he does not concur with Montemayor's equation of true love and discontent. If, in the Diana, "los que sufren más, son los mejores" (D, 167) and fortune brings to each lover "ningún contento estremado sin dalle algún desgusto en cuenta dél" (D, 257), in the Arcadias, discontent is treated as common in, but not intrinsic to, love. It is presented, moreover, as a source of potential peril in that it can lead to despair, and "sorrow enfeebleth all resolution" (NA, 298). The wise Pamela, who has known her share of suffering, acknowledges that it should not be wallowed in, for "what is prepared for us we know not, but that with sorrow we cannot prevent it, we know" (OA, 312). Sidney's primary emblem of the disastrous consequences to which sorrow can lead is Amphialus, a NA figure, who is the victim of "the horriblest despaire" (NA, 492) and "an extreme melancholy" (NA, 225), due to his unrequited affection for Philoclea and his guilt over his unintended slaying of Timotheus, his closest friend. His melancholy and guilt have left him ambivalent about the sisters' captivity; he tries to convince them that it is love, not he, which is responsible for their situations:

. . . I finde my selfe most willing to obey you: neither truely doo mine eares receive the least word you speak, with any lesse reverence, then as absolute, and unresistable commaundements. But alas, that Tyrant Love, (which now possesseth the holde of all my life and reason) will no way suffer it. It is Love, it is Love, not I, which disobey you.

(NA, 369)

In this context, Amphialus is reminiscent of the bondage of the will that plagues many of Montemayor's lovers. So passive and weak-willed has he become that, upon realizing that neither sister is about to compromise on her virtuous principles, Amphialus begins to waste away and to decry his "destinie" (NA, 375). His suffering actually surpasses that of Montemayor's lovers because he has the added burden of conscience, a force which he grows less and less capable of suppressing.⁴ Since his self-torture is deteriorating him physically and drawing him closer to suicide, Amphialus' condition only worsens (NA, 464-65). He remains permanently bed-ridden (NA, 489), until his final confrontation with his mother (NA, 490 ff.). Even the final ministrations of the still-devoted Queen Helen are insufficient to avert his death (NA, 495-503). The torments of love, although to some degree inevitable, must be controlled and kept within measure, lest they overmaster and destroy the lover himself.

As we have seen, Montemayor's lovers, when in the throes of discontent, frequently rail against the power that fortune and fate exert over them. Sidney's unhappy

lovers are not above doing the same thing.⁵ Unlike their Iberian predecessors, however, Sidney's most miserable lovers, like Gynecia, are far too resourceful and individualistic to remain immobilized for a very long time.⁶ Even the unheroic Astrophil can cry out, "I may, I must, I can, I will, I do. . . ." (A&S, XLVII, 10) and can accept a large portion of the responsibility for his undoing.⁷ Due to their voluntarist orientations, most of Sidney's lovers refuse to withdraw into a passive state of inertia or self-pity, regardless of their tribulations, and this is true not only of unheroic lovers like Astrophil but of fallen lovers like Leucippe.⁸ In the Arcadias, that is, no superior force is potent enough to besmirch the integrity of the human will or to call into question human merit and responsibility. This voluntarist spirit is evoked by Pamela in her reproof of Dorus, who has submitted to momentary feelings of self-pity:

. . . methinks you blame your fortune very
wrongfully, since the fault is not in fortune
but in you that cannot frame yourself to your
fortune.

(OA, 100)

For Sidney, moreover, the true lover welcomes the many adversities brought on by love as both a test and a sign of true loving:

. . . if we complain of this our fortune, or
seem to ourselves faulty in having one hurt
the other, we show a repentance of the love
we bear those matchless creatures, or at least
a doubt it should be over dearly bought. . . .

(OA, 372)

Implicit in Pyrocles' remarks is a significant transmutation of the typical love situation in the Diana. If, in that work, the best lovers suffer most, because fortune is essentially inimical and divine justice is inoperative, in the Arcadias, the best lovers are willing to suffer greatly because of the extent and intensity of their love. Indeed, Sidney's four protagonist-lovers suffer much more extensively than do their counterparts in the Diana, but they suffer, not because of unrequited love, but because of the ignorant or malevolent interference of others. As we shall see later, moreover, in the Arcadias such suffering is not indicative of an active fortune and inactive providence, but, in fact, of providential design, for God wills that His best creatures be perfected by adversity. By affirming this cooperative interaction between the human will and divine providence, Sidney was able, like Melancthon whose doctrine of synergism achieved the same end, to find a middle way between the Lutheran and Calvinist stress on divine grace and the humanist stress on the human will.⁹

Although Sidney's characters are highly volitional, they are not capable of doing just anything. For example, in his "suicide debate" with Philoclea, Pyrocles employs voluntaristic terms to defend the notion of suicide:

. . . to do requires a whole heart, to suffer falls easiliest in the broken minds; and . . . we must not run so infinitely as to think the valiant man is willingly to suffer any thing,

since the very suffering of some things is
 a certain proof of want of courage. . . .
 (OA, 297)

What, of course, Pyrocles fails to realize during this moment of stress, is that an activity such as suicide can result only in final and perpetual inactivity. Sidney's characters, although generally responsible and answerable for "the effects of [their] own doing" (OA, 411), are not free to do just anything. Their selection of options is limited by divine, natural, and civil law. They are also limited by the counsel of wisdom and virtue,

the only destinies appointed to men to follow,
 wherein one ought to place all his knowledge,
 since they be such guides as cannot fail which,
 besides their inward comfort, do make a man see
 so direct a way of proceeding as prosperity
 must necessarily ensue.

(OA, 7)

As heathens not having the guidance of Christian Revelation, Sidney's lovers are indeed forced to fall back on their common fund of virtue with relative frequency.¹⁰ In addition to serving as a guide, virtue is a source of strength that man can deploy against evil. For example, throughout the Captivity, Pamela, "in whose mind Vertue governed with the scepter of Knowledge" (NA, 438), is strengthened and reassured by the "counsell of vertue, and comfort of love" (NA, 473). Simultaneously, the sisters' virtue progressively weakens and ultimately destroys Cecropia, who has orchestrated the Captivity. Virtue is also a component of true love, not only because the truly virtuous prove the truest

lovers, but also because of its unequalled attractiveness. Astrophil, for example, declares that, since virtue has taken Stella's shape, his ardor for her has been provoked even further:

. . . since I her did see,
 Vertue's great beautie in that face I prove,
 And find th'effect, for I do burne in love.¹¹
 (A&S, XXV, 11-14)

Further, the more that virtue arouses the passions, the more it reminds the lover of his moral commitment to the beloved, i.e., of his charge to be virtuous:

So while thy beautie drawes the heart to love,
 As fast thy Vertue bends that love to good:
 'But ah,' Desire still cries, 'give me some food.'
 (A&S, LXXI, 12-14)

Only in Sonnet LXXII does Astrophil resolve this conflict by renouncing desire altogether and by deciding to "head" his "Cupid's dart" with "Vertue's gold."

Virtue is not simply a divine infusion in the fashion of grace, it must be cultivated actively. Pyrocles and Musidorus willingly undergo extensive training in it and live "onely to serve the rule of vertue" (NA, 194). This training has not only improved them, but has also made the world a better place, for they have dethroned undeserving rulers and replaced them with meritorious ones, and they have left a mirror of virtue for others to emulate wherever they have gone. Virtuous living has also made them their own men, resentful of external control, in a greater way "governors of necessity than servants to fortune" (OA, 370).

Even in the midst of the worst adversities, they are reassured and strengthened by it:

. . . let not our virtue now abandon us. Let us prove our minds are no slaves to fortune, but in adversity can triumph over adversity.
(OA, 318)

Pyrocles' reply to Musidorus' exhortation is itself the sort of statement of virtuous self-reliance that we have come to expect in the Arcadias:

I well know there is nothing evil but within us; the rest is either natural or accidental.
(OA, 318)

In the Arcadias, moreover, virtue is closely associated with wit. For example, it is with resourceful cleverness that Musidorus is able to gull Pamela's caretakers, Dametas and his entire family, and to steal away with Pamela (OA, 216-17). Pyrocles, "formed by nature and framed by education to the true exercise of virtue" (OA, 18), is no less capable of converting his virtuous aspirations into action. Early in the work, he resolves to find, merit, and win his love, and he is forced to do so without recourse to external assistance of any kind. In plotting first to disguise as "an Amazon lady" in the service of Philoclea, Pyrocles admits to Musidorus that, although his strategy may not pose a final cure, his "melancholy hath brought forth . . . the preparation at least of a salve, if it be not in itself a medicine" (OA, 18). Subsequently, it is another act of consummate wit ("strength-

ened with virtue, but guided by love," OA, 290) whereby Pyrocles manages to dupe Basilius and Gynecia into "adultery" with each other in the cave (OA, 185 ff. and 202 ff.). Such witty resourcefulness obviates a major tragedy and lays the groundwork for the felicity that will occur at the close of the work. Discontent may be a common experience in the Arcadias, as it is in the Dianas, but only in Sidney's work can it serve to trigger virtuous action. Sidney's lovers are capable of more than paralysis of the will.

The adversity that can result from true love is far more horrific in the Arcadias than in the Iberian pastoral romances. In Sidney's romances, "high honor is not onely gotten and borne by paine, and daunger, but must be nurst by the like, or els vanisheth as soone as it appeares to the world" (NA, 205). Exposure to adversity strengthens the lover (NA, 474) and makes him better aware of his own deficiencies and more prone to rectify them (OA, 16). Consequently, Pyrocles and Musidorus are "desirous more and more to exercise their virtues and increase their experience" (OA, 11):

. . . they determined in unknowne order to see more of the world, & to imploy those gifts esteemed rare in them, to the good of mankind; and therefore would themselves . . . goe privately to seek exercises of their vertue; thinking it not so worthy, to be brought to heroycall effects by fortune, or necessitie (like Ulysses and Aeneas) as by ones owne choice, and working.

(NA, 206)

In the Arcadias, then, discontent does not really present a major problem. Although universal and formidable in its effects, it can be withstood and prevailed against by the virtuous human will. Simultaneously, it can be a strengthening force if viewed in the proper context. Among the virtuous, that is, there is nothing to fear, except the loss of virtue. In Sidney's romances, discontent, too, has a place in the divine scheme.

If, in the Arcadias, Sidney partially responds to and controverts Montemayor's subordination of the human will to the hegemony of fortune and fate, what can be said of his response to the implications of the DE? "Engaño" does play a significant role in the Arcadias. Due to man's "uncertain . . . mortal judgements" (OA, 416) and "experience . . . grounded upon feeling" (NA, 7), he is given to making numerous errors of some consequence. Probably the most notable instance involves Basilius and Gynecia, both of whom are fully deluded about each other and about their own passions. Their "engaño" reaches comic proportions during the assignation in the cave, each one deeming the other to be Pyrocles (or "Cleophila") (OA, 225-27). Indeed, the third book of the OA abounds in instances of "engaño"; in it, all the world seems to be counterfeiting. Nevertheless, "engaño" plays only a small role in the relationship of Sidney's truest lovers. They seem inclined to understand themselves and their beloveds with little difficulty.

Although Sidney by no means exalts the faculty of reason, he grants to virtuous love the power of accurate perception. Polo's lovers, it will be remembered, depend for their "desengaño" on an intervening agency represented by Felicia. In the Arcadias, by contrast, such reliance on any external apparatus is deemed hazardous for at least two reasons. First, as we have seen, it precipitates a sense of servility and passivity where virtuous affirmation is required. Second, any external agency granted the importance and reverence of Polo's Felicia is liable to abuse that power. Due to his "weak judgment" (OA, 290) and "the filthy rebellion of sinful sense" (OA, 279), man is easily misled and traduced. With little difficulty, he falls prey to the stratagems of such purveyors of wickedness and guile as Clinias, Cecropia, and Plexirtus. In the Arcadias, man is most admirable, indeed most divine, when he is on his own, treading, without worldly assistance, but with his own store of virtue and wisdom, the most arduous thoroughfares of life.

It has been pointed out that Sidney is not in accord with the concept of debilitas rationis as it appears in the work of Montemayor and some of the Reformers. Nor, however, does he share Polo's conviction in man's inclination first to err and then to avail himself for rehabilitation by an external source. Sidney's via media between these somewhat excessive views is supported midway through the "Third

Eclogues" (OA, 254-59), where he inserts a song in **rime royal** on the Creation and Fall of man, a song avowedly based on the teachings of Hubert Languet (1518-81).¹² It yields a picture of man as partly an animal and partly divine, a picture which conforms closely to the psychological implications of the Arcadias. When "hurtless was tiger's paw and serpent's hiss" (OA, 256), the animal kingdom turns to Jove for a ruler over the pre-Edenic world, i.e., man. Although reluctant, Jove fulfils the request and even contributes some of his own divinity to the new ruler. Nevertheless, he makes it clear that the predominant part of human nature will derive from the animal kingdom:

. . . part of my heav'nly fire
 I will you lend; the rest yourselves must give,
 That it both seen and felt may with you live.
 (OA, 257)

Each creature contributes something of himself:

The fox gave craft; the dog gave flattery;
 Ass, patience; the mole, a working thought;
 Eagle, high look; wolf, secret cruelty;
 Monkey, sweet breath; the cow, her fair eyes
 brought;
 The ermine, whitest skin spotted with naught;
 The sheep, mild-seeming face; climbing, the bear;
 The stag did give the harm-eschewing fear.

The hare her sleights; the cat his melancholy;
 Ant, industry; and cony, skill to build;
 Cranes, order; storks, to be appearing holy;
 Chamelion, ease to change; duck, ease to yield;
 Crocodile, tears which might be falsely spilled.
 Ape great thing gave, though he did mowing stand:
 The instrument of instruments, the hand.

(OA, 257)

Man, then, is, in Sidney's view, an admixture of a small dose of divinity and a larger dose of animality. Significantly, however, some of man's noblest qualities derive from the animal kingdom, e.g., his industry, his skill to build, and his sense of order. The divine spark, moreover, is present in all men, but not always attended to by them. In the Arcadias, man is neither victim of a bonded will nor readily prone to remediation by "desengaño." Depending on his fund of virtue, he is at once capable of the most divine and most beastly behavior.

A great deal of the havoc that occurs in the NA is generated by the impious and depraved Cecropia who, unlike Polo's Felicia, serves, not as an intermediary to bring the lover into closer harmony with his spiritual self and with his beloved, but who appeals to his grossest, i.e., his most beastly, appetites. For example, she has falsely convinced Artesia of Amphialus' hand and the crown, as a result of which Artesia goes about the world fulfilling Cecropia's wishes and commands. It is the former who is responsible for luring the princesses and Pyrocles to the site of their captivity, Cecropia's castle (NA, 360 ff.). Clinias is another figure who, sated by Cecropia's promises, goes about bringing deceit and malice to the world in her service. Like Artesia, he labors under the mistaken impression that his perverse acts will eventually be handsomely rewarded.¹³ The primary cause of the sporadic popular

revolts that occur in the NA, Clinias exploits the weakness and greed of the rebels for his own "interests," just as Cecropia uses him to serve hers.

Obviously, Cecropia has no notion at all of the very existence of human worth. So assured is she of the depravity, degeneracy, and valuelessness of human nature that she is totally blind to the "unstayed goodness" of the noble Pamela and to this paragon's "light more than humane, which gave a lustre to her perfections" (NA, 411):

. . . Cecropia, like a Batte (which though it have eyes to discern that there is a Sunne, yet so evil eyes, that it cannot delight in the Sunne) found a trueth, but could not love it.
(NA, 411)

Viewing human nature as credulous and corruptible, Cecropia endeavors to betray Pamela into thinking that the human mind is on a par with the divine. Such a notion recalls, of course, the traditional sin of pride:

Be wise, and that wisdom shall be a God unto thee. . . .
(NA, 406)

This equation of human and divine reason is analogous to the vain superstition of Basilius, as a result of which the natural order is imperiled. The heavenly powers, instead, should be "reverenced and not searched into, and their mercy rather by prayers to be sought than their hidden counsels by curiosity" (OA, 7). In addition to the intellectual pride which it exemplifies, such superstition implies that the deity has not sufficiently pro-

vided for man:

These kinds of soothsaying sorceries (since the heavens have left us in ourselves sufficient guides) [are] nothing but fancies wherein there must either be vanity or infallibleness, and so either not to be respected or not to be revered.

(OA, 7)

Instead, that is, of having faith in his own limited rational powers and his virtuous resources, Basilius turns to an external agency, much in the fashion of Montemayor's and, especially, Polo's lovers, for aid. What is worse is that he sadly misinterprets and misunderstands the message. Unlike the four protagonist-lovers, he wants the volitional powers and virtuous strength to make his own way. Like many men, when "perplexed" and unable to "determine" independently and resourcefully, he takes "the common course . . . to flie only thẽ to devotiõ," wanting "resolutiõ" (NA, 510). Basilius has committed the error of placing a false trust in the capacity of human reason to decode divine ordinance and has fallen victim to an utter dependence on external signs (the Oracles) to define and determine his life and actions. He has not learned, with Philanax, "to give tribute, but not oblation to humane wisdom," for "reason cannot shewe it self more reasonable, then to leave reasoning in things above reason. . ." (NA, 510). Human nature is neither as corrupt, nor human reason as accurate, as Cecropia and Basilius respectively deem them; in the Arcadias, the truth is somewhere in the middle.

It is likely that in expounding his view of human reason in the Arcadias, Sidney was conscious of and responsive to the Iberian pastoral precedent. He seems to controvert Polo's attitudes toward human reason just as he was seen to have controverted Montemayor's view of fortune. We have noted that Polo's definition of reason is largely in accord with that of the Counter-Reformation, i.e., man, although naturally inclining to error, is not deprived of the knowledge necessary to resolve his situation and achieve fruition both in this world and the next. Sidney, by contrast, calls into question first the universality of such "engaño" and, second, the very existence of such an intermediating agency. Further, he deplures the superstitious faith in such an intercessor that often accompanies such dependency, and he rejects Polo's belief in man's willingness to be bolstered and remedied by it. Finally, given his acute awareness of man's psychological insufficiencies, Sidney does not regard his particularly fallen lovers as willing or able to amend their lives. What, then, can be made of Sidney's refutation of Polo's assumptions? At first glance, his view seems to be nowise at variance with the teachings of the Reformers. Did not both Luther and Calvin reject the Church as the primary, divinely sanctioned intermediary between man and God? And did they not assail as symptomatic of human pride both superstitious activity and an excessive exaltation of human reason? Sidney, although in

general agreement with these assumptions, reconsiders and refines them. Throughout the Arcadias, one encounters, not a derogation, but an affirmation, of human reason within, of course, certain demarcations, and of man's capacity to realize his own destiny by a commitment of energy and will, within the bounds of virtue. Sidney's princely lovers' very ability to attain high love, in spite of the many obstacles around them, is itself an eloquent testimony to the latent and little-used mental and spiritual powers of man:

. . . what doth better become wisdom, then
to discern, what is worthy the loving?
what more agreeable to goodnes, then to love
it so discerned?

(NA, 284)

The mysteries of love, although "as impossible to describe, as to measure the backside of heaven" (NA, 115),¹⁴ are not beyond man's inherent capacity to fathom or achieve. In Sidney's romances, true and mutual love is dependent on the very existence of human wisdom, for if man were totally incapable of wise thoughts, there would be no love in the world. It is for this reason that Musidorus prays to the "mind of minds" for the wisdom and goodness to merit and reciprocate Pamela's love:

Grant me wisdom to know her wisdom, and
goodness so to increase my love of her
goodness that all mine own chosen desires
be to myself but second to her determinations.¹⁵

(OA, 312)

This entreaty of the divine powers for personal strength

and merit is surely in marked contrast to that which occurs in the DE. Sidney's lovers are unprecedented in the pastoral romance tradition because they trust in their reason without deifying it and believe in their Maker without superstitiously or passively depending on Him.

Although Sidney does not provide his characters with an intercessor in the fashion of Felicia, there are some notable parallels between Euarchus in the OA and Cecropia in the NA, on the one hand, and Felicia, on the other. Both Polo, who, like Montaigne, stresses man's need for guidance in a fallen world,¹⁶ and Montemayor create a narrative structure which parallels that used in the OA: the first two books state the problem, the third involves a significant event or decision, and the final two books contain the resolution of the problem.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Sidney's presentation of the resolution in the final books diverges considerably from the Iberian precedent. In the OA, there is no quasi-spiritual being like Felicia residing in a pastoral center. Nor are his lovers in conscious quest of a religious shrine, as are the lovers in the Dianas, for whom the turning point of these works follows upon their discovery of Felicia's holy palace. Nor, as has been pointed out, are Sidney's lovers in need of personal reform and renewal. Their greatest torments result, instead, from external obstacles and interferences. For example, the turning point of the OA is Pyrocles' discovery

in Philoclea's chamber, as a consequence of which he is accused of rape and, later, regicide, and is sentenced to be executed. In the final book of the OA, at the very juncture where Polo's and Montemayor's lovers, recently healed by Felicia, are about to reap the many rewards of their new lives, Sidney's protagonists are at their very lowest point, awaiting the arrival of the agent of justice, Euarchus, who ultimately finds Pyrocles totally guilty (OA, 351 ff.). Although obviously divergent from Felicia, Euarchus recalls her in some interesting ways. First, there is a providential sanction to his activities:

Surely, surely, the heavenly powers have in
so full a time bestowed him on to us to unite
our disunions.

(OA, 353-54)

Further, he is widely known for his sanctity and excellence of character, although he shares none of Felicia's mystical aura:

He is, both by experience and wisdom, taught how
to direct his greatness such as no man can dis-
dain to obey him, his equity such as no man
need to fear him; lastly, as he hath all these
qualities to help so hath he (though he would)
no force to hurt.

(OA, 354)

Unlike the two Felicias, that is, Euarchus is a portrait, not of the holy priest, but of the good minister. Third, he is totally unimpressed with external shows but values virtue and truth most:

. . . his inward love was so fixed in virtue
that it never was dissolved into other desires,
but keeping his thoughts true to themselves,

he was neither beguiled with the painted
gloss of pleasure nor dazzled with the false
light of ambition.

(OA, 357)

Like Felicia, finally, he speaks of himself as a healer-figure whose intervention is intended to be therapeutic in nature:

. . . I must be fully informed how the patient
is minded before I can promise to undertake
the cure.

(OA, 363)

Unlike Felicia, however, Euarchus has no cure to administer. The resolution of the problems that beset Pyrocles and Philoclea in the final book of the OA is brought about by a single, fortuitous occurrence, Basilius' sudden and unexpected restoration. The "poison" he had ingested was in actuality a philtre that induces sleep for an extended period of time. With the "rebirth" of Basilius, the spirit of death has been expelled from the Arcadian court, replaced by a promise of rebirth for an indefinite length of time. Sidney, then, in keeping with his principal themes, places the responsibility for contentment on man himself. In the Arcadias, such remediation is not a cause of love, as it is in the Dianas. And yet, in the OA, Sidney has not diverged from Montemayor's remedy in one significant way: he has retained the magic potion at least in some form. Although the English romancer's potion differs in effect and significance from that of Montemayor, one can say that, in the OA, as in the D, discontent is expelled by magic.

A word should be said about the effect and significance of the potion in the OA. As a result of it, Basilius is not merely brought back to life to be reinstated as patriarch of his family and lover of his wife, his renewal has larger social implications. As Gynecia had reminded him during the Cave Episode, as King, his actions are not confined in their effects merely to his person:

Remember the wrong you do me is not only to me, but to your children, whom you had of me; to your country, when they shall finde they are commaunded by him that cannot command his own undecent appetites; lastly to yourself, since with these pains you do but build up a house of shame to dwell in.
(OA, 277)

Although full and final "desengaño" occurs to Basilius, as it does to the lovers in the Dianas, only as a result of the effect of the philtre, he is prepared for it by a "secondary desengaño" in the cave. On discovering that he has in actuality made love with his own wife (presumably, the first time in quite a while), instead of having had adultery with "Zelmane," he experiences a major reawakening: ". . . like far travellers . . . taught to love their own country, he had such a lesson without book of affection unto her as he would repay the debt of this error with the interest of a great deal more true honour than ever before he had borne her" (OA, 277). Feeling totally reformed, he vows loyalty to, and a rebirth of love interest in, his wife:

. . . embracing her and confessing that her virtue shined in his vice, he did even with a true resolved mind vow unto her that, so long as he unworthy of her did live, she should be the furthest and only limit of his affection.
(OA, 278)

With this renewal comes a new awareness of the operations of providence, a corrective to his former superstitiousness.

He thanked the destinies that had wrought her honour out of his shame; and that had made his own striving to go amiss to be the best mean ever after to hold him in the right path.
(OA, 278)

It is significant, finally, that Basilius' "secondary desengaño" is furnished, not by a religious intercessor, but by Pyrocles, a true lover and a wise and virtuous man. Basilius' transformation, however, is short-lived because he presently expires from the effect of the philtre which he has imbibed (OA, 278 ff.). Only at the close of OA, V (415), when he suddenly emerges from his thirty-hour slumber, does general and full restoration occur. Basilius makes, at this point, a public apology to Gynecia, asking "her pardon for those errors he had committed" (OA, 416), bestowing upon her "the most honourable fame of any princess throughout the world," and denominating her "the perfect mirror of all wifely love" (OA, 416). This last description is not the only indication that some residue of "engaño" still inheres in Basilius. He remains in something of a quandary over "Cleophila's" gender:

Many garboils passed through his fancy before he could be persuaded Cleophila was other than

a woman.

(OA, 416)

One does not encounter in the OA a comparable faith in and reverence for remediation through "desengaño" as occurs in the DE. As Sidney interposes, ". . . so uncertain are mortal judgements, the same person most infamous and most famous, and neither justly" (OA, 416). Notwithstanding this ironical tone, Basilius' remediation brings about good and lasting effects in the OA. As a consequence of it, long-severed bonds are reknit, and prosperity is promised. Husband is rejoined with wife (Basilius and Gynecia; Pyrocles and Philoclea; Musidorus and Pamela), son, with parent (Pyrocles and Euarchus, and his "new parents"; Philoclea and her parents), ruler, with kingdom (Basilius and, eventually, Pyrocles), and justice is reinstated in the world. In the OA, that is, the means of remediation are not in accord with their lofty final effects. Only in the NA will Sidney discard the last vestiges of the magic potion and the stress on "desengaño," which occur in the Dianas, for a new process more in keeping with his major themes and final vision.

NOTES

¹Kennedy, p. xxiv. The quotation, presumably translated by Kennedy, is taken from G. Reynier's Le Roman Sentimental (Paris, 1908), p. 312.

²Robertson, p. 427 n., notes that the first book and first set of eclogues, particularly, are "concerned . . . with the theme of unrequited love." Sidney continues and further develops the idea in NA, I. Note, for example, where he adds a sentence on discontent to the NA, I, p. 56: "And alas, deere Musidorus, if I be sadde, who knowes better then you the just cause I have of sadnes?"

³See also OA, 71 ff., 127, 254, 334 ff., and 417.

⁴"Recreant Amphialus, (would he say to him selfe) how darest thou intitle thy selfe the lover of Philoclea, that hast neither shewed thy selfe a faithfull coward, nor a valiant rebell, but both rebellious and cowardly, which no law cã quite, nor grace have pitie of? Alas life, what little pleasure thou doost me, to give me nothing but sense of reproach, and exercise of ruins?"
(NA, 464)

⁵For discussions of fortune's eminence, see OA, 79-80, OA, 284-85, and NA, 472, where all four lovers consider themselves to be "troden under foot by the wheele of senselesse fortune." In NA, 503, Pamela questions the "vexing" effects of fortune.

⁶Philisides may be the only exception. This voluntaristic spirit is in accord with Calvin's rejection of fate, fortune, and chance as inventions of the heathen, but not with his concomitant relegation of full authorship of all activity to the Godhead. See John Calvin, A Compend of the Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. Hugh T. Kerr (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 35.

⁷See, also, A&S, XXXIII, 5-15. The same sense of personal responsibility and culpability is shared by Musidorus after being rejected by Pamela for his ill-advised advances (NA, 355).

⁸Leucippe, for example, attributes Pamphilus' disloyalty and betrayal of her trust, not to the inconstancy of fortune, but to her own capacity for being deceived:

"O foole that I am, that thought I coulde graspe water, and binde the winde. I might well have knowe thee by others, but I would not; & rather wished to learne poison by drinking it my selfe, while my love helped thy wordes to deceive me."

(NA, 289)

⁹See Erasmus-Luther: Discourse on Free Will, trans. Ernst F. Winter (New York, 1961), pp. 100-14, where Luther, in refuting Erasmus' Preface to his work on the human will, illustrates the prime divergences between humanism and Lutheranism.

¹⁰Although undefined by Sidney, virtue is described as a majestic inner light that shines through beauty (NA, 452), as a ruler whose teachings Pyrocles and Musidorus were born "onely to serve" (NA, 194), and a force to be valued more highly than mere pedigree (NA, 15).

¹¹One wonders whether this final line in any way affected Spenser's principal onomastic borrowing from the Arcadias, that of Pyrochles, who, like Astrophil, "burns" in love:

"'I burne, I burne, I burne!' then lowd he cryde,
'O how I burne with implacable fyre!'"

(FQ, II.vi.44)

¹²Sidney is not reticent about naming his source:
"The song I sang old Languet had me taught,
Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew,
For clerkly rede, and hating what is naught,
For faithful heart, clean hands, and mouth as true.
With his sweet skill my skill-less youth he drew
To have a feeling taste of him that sits
Beyond the heav'n, far more beyond our wits."

(OA, 255)

It will be recalled that Languet, a French Huguenot, with whom Sidney corresponded, was a liberal Protestant who disagreed with Calvin's notion that man is totally corrupt and therefore unable to regain a virtuous state in the world. Languet thought it could be regained by "intensive control of the heavenly part within the microcosm." See Davis, p. 139.

¹³"This fellowe was become of neere trust to Cecropia, . . . so that he was privy to al the mischievous devises, wherewith she went about to ruine Basilus, and his children, for the advauncing of her sonne: and though his education had made him full of tongue, yet his love to be doing, taught him in any evill to be secret; and had by his mistresse bene used (ever since the strange retiring of Basilus) to whisper rumors into the peoples eares."
(NA, 319)

¹⁴Throughout the Arcadias, Sidney eulogizes the nobility of silent acknowledgment. When feelings are intense, it is presumed, language becomes an inadequate vehicle of expression. One instance occurs in OA, 54, where Pamela and Philoclea, while "everybody else filled their mouths with . . . praises [of Musidorus and Pyrocles], "keep their feelings to themselves.

¹⁵Such mutuality is reminiscent of the spirit and tone of Ebreo's dictum that two mutual lovers are no longer two (or one, as Ficino contended), but four, since each is lover and beloved and transforms his partner into these. See John Charles Nelson, Renaissance Theory of Love (New York, 1958), p. 91.

¹⁶On this subject, Montaigne wrote, in his Apology for Raymond Sebond:

"The knowledge of his duty should not be left to each man's judgement; it should be prescribed to him, not left to the choice of his reason. . . . The first law that God ever gave to man was a law of pure obedience; it was a naked and simple commandment about which man had nothing to know or discuss; since to obey is the principal function of a reasonable soul, recognizing a heavenly superior and benefactor. From obeying and yielding spring all other virtues, as from presumption all sins." Quoted from The Complete Essays of Montaigne, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), p. 359.

¹⁷To be precise, the D has seven books, but an analogous pattern is followed; the middle book, instead of being the third, is the fourth.

CHAPTER SIX

CECROPIA, HUMAN VOLITION, AND PROVIDENTIAL DESIGN: SIDNEY'S ANSWER TO THE DIANAS

In writing the NA, Sidney added a large assortment of new characters, themes, and narrative material. No addition to the NA, however, exceeds in significance the figure, Cecropia. She is the single source of most of the calamities that befall the four princely lovers, such as the attack of the lion and bear, Clinias' involvement in the revolt of the commoners, and the various deceitful offices of Artesia. Further, an entire book, the third, is devoted to her and the captivity she inflicts on the two princesses and Pyrocles. She is equalled in power and influence only by providence itself, which chooses not to intercede in human affairs as readily as Cecropia does. In the NA, then, Sidney's four protagonist-lovers are in a situation diametrically opposed to that of their counterparts in the DE. They are not baffled by the influence of love over them, nor are they in need of

instruction in the nature of either love or its remedia. They would, instead, prefer to be left alone. In the OA, the principal obstacles to their love emanated from the parental figures; in the NA, a new and more imposing obstacle has been added. Cecropia is in some ways a travesty of and, perhaps an answer to, Felicia. With seemingly unlimited power, this witch devotes all of her energies to the traduction and ultimate conversion of the four princely lovers. She tries to impose upon them a theory of love and religion which, nevertheless, falls on deaf ears, for these lovers are not passive figures dependent, like Polo's lovers, on the teachings of an external agency for their own fruition. It is, in fact, their assertion of virtue and will that eventually undoes Cecropia. We shall now turn to the Captivity Episode, examining, first, the stratagems employed by Cecropia and, second, the resistance and ultimate triumph of the lovers.

Cecropia lives withdrawn from humanity in a castle overlooking mankind:

. . . the castle stood in the midst of a great lake, upon a high rocke, where partly by Arte, but principallie by Nature, it was by all men esteemed impregnable.¹

(NA, 362)

She harbors great envy for Basilius' royal rank (of which she has industriously sought to divest him) and Gynecia's superior beauty. Her worst setback, in her quest of royal power and influence, was the birth of Basilius'

daughters, by virtue of whom her son, Amphialus, was deprived of the succession (NA, 365). It is consequently Cecropia's design either to convince or to force either of the sisters to marry her son. If unsuccessful in her persuasions, she will not hesitate to slay both of them, thereby depriving Basilius of the royal succession in another way.

Although thoroughly and incorrigibly wicked, Cecropia is assuredly a character that one would come to expect in Sidney's romances. She is all will. By sheer wit, skill, and determination, she has so managed affairs that Basilius stands, as a consequence of the Captivity, to lose the rights to his kingdom. One does not encounter in Cecropia's make-up even a whit of the passive self-pity and lethargy so common in the Dianas. She is as defiant of fortune and as assertive of self as are Sidney's princely lovers. Despite assorted setbacks, she has, like them, continually rebounded, with ever more vigor:

Though many times Fortune failed me, yet
did I never faile my selfe.
(NA, 365)

A master of treachery and stratagem, she is nevertheless oblivious to the excellence to which human nature can aspire. She repeatedly underestimates her nieces' capacity to think, to resist, to endure. Cecropia is also oblivious to the magnificent power of their virtue, a power which ultimately destroys her.

In her first interview with Philoclea (NA, 376 ff.),

Cecropia appears in the form of a heavenly intermediary:

Imagin neece . . . that some heavenly spirit should appeare unto you, and bid you follow him through the doore, that goes into the garden, assuring you, that you should therby return to your deare mother, and what other delights soever your mind esteemes delights: would you . . . refuse to folow him, & say, that if he led you not through the chiefe gate, you would not enjoy your over-desired liberty? Would you not drinke the wine you thirst for, without it were in such a glasse, as you especially fancied?

(NA, 377-78)

Basing her argument on the false assumption that Philoclea has come to her, in the fashion of the lovers in the Dianas, in quest of some delight only she can furnish, Cecropia goes on to identify herself with a supernatural agency sent forth to remedy her niece:

. . . imagin, that I am that same good Angel, who grieving in your griefe, and in truth not able to suffer, that bitter sighs should be sent foorth with so sweete a breath, am come to lead you, not only to your desired and imagined happiness, but to a true and essential happiness; not only to liberty, but to libertie with commandement.

(NA, 378)

Her language evocative of the Edenic transgression and couched in pastoralism, she proceeds to nominate herself to serve as Philoclea's instructress in "the way" to contentment:

The way I will shew you (which if it be not the gate builded hitherto in your private choise, yet shall it be a doore to bring you through a garden of pleasures, as sweet as this life can bring foorth; nay rather, which makes this life to be a life.

(NA, 378)

Philoclea, however, has neither an interest in nor a need

for such an agency. Cecropia, "who never knew what love meant, but onely to [her son]" (NA, 450) and to whom "a woman is a woman," therefore desirous of masculine "force" (NA, 453), then tries to fill her niece with the philosophy of hedonism, which she juxtaposes with the traditional "procreation theme":

. . . Nature, when you were first borne, vowed you a womā, & as she made you child of a mother, so to do your best to be mother of a child: she gave you beautie to move love; she gave you wit to know love; she gave you an excellēt body to reward love: which kind of liberall rewarding is crowned with unspeakable felicitie.
(NA, 379)

Not only does Philoclea refuse to consider such notions, she indicates to her aunt that the essence of true love is volition, not captivity, for nature abhors all constraints (NA, 380).

On realizing that Philoclea is not at all the passive lover in need of guidance that she had deemed her, Cecropia resolves to turn her attentions to Pamela, who repudiates her aunt with "the Majestie of Vertue" just as Philoclea had rejected her "with sweete and humble dealing" (NA, 384). Cecropia's first strategy is to enkindle the older sister's jealousy by invoking the "cross-eyed Cupid" situation; that is, Amphialus is said to be ardently pursued by Philoclea, but he really prefers Pamela, who should therefore act affirmatively and consent to wedlock with him. Unlike Montemayor's lovers, Pamela is unmoved by this situation. She refuses to give any serious attention to it. Cecropia

subsequently decides to appeal to Pamela's desire for power as she had previously appealed to Philoclea's desire for pleasure:

. . . see, a faire woman shall not onely
 commaund without authoritie, but perswade
 without speaking. She shall not neede to
 procure attention, for their own eyes will
 chain their eares unto it. Men venture lives
 to conquere; she conqueres lives without
 venturing. . . Beautie . . . is the crowne
 of the feminine greatnes. . . .
 (NA, 404)

Cecropia adds that the power afforded to beauty is ephemeral because of the ephemerality of beauty generally.

It is for this reason that Pamela should marry now:

Beauty goes away, devoured by Time, but
 where remains it ever flourishing, but in
 the hart of a true love: And such a one
 . . . is my son.
 (NA, 405)

The utter and total inefficacy of these arguments puts Cecropia on a different track; she decides to weaken and dispel "those heavenly conceipts" (NA, 406) in Pamela's mind. Her method is, first, as we saw in the previous chapter, to exalt the power and importance of human reason and, second, to deny divine providence. Cecropia's primary argument is that man renders himself unhappy and irrational by giving himself over to faith in a supreme being. Her point of departure is an empyrical naturalism:

Yesterday was but as to day, and to morrow
 will tread the same footsteps of his foregoers
 . . . all things follow but the course of their
 own nature, saving only Man, who while by the
 pregnancie of his imagination he strives to
 things supernaturall, meane-while he looseth

his own naturall felicitie. Be wise, and
that wisdom shalbe a God unto thee; be
contented, and that is thy heaven. . . .
(NA, 406)

Pamela refutes as irrational such a misuse of reason:

O foolish woman, and most miserably foolish,
since wit makes you foolish.
(NA, 407)

Pamela does not, however, demean the faculty of reason
itself, as some of the Reformers had done; indeed, she
intimates that it is the right use of reason that assures
man of the divine plan:

. . . perfect order, perfect beautie, perfect
constancie, if these be the children of Chaunce,
or Fortune the efficient of these, let Wisedome
be counted the roote of wickednesse, and eter-
nitie the fruite of her inconstancie.
(NA, 408)

Pamela's arguments, which are most rational, are a further
indication that she is no enemy of reason.

The second phase of Cecropia's argument hinges on
a denial of providence:

. . . for els to thinke that those powers (if
there be any such) above, are moved either by
the eloquence of our prayers, or in a chafe by
the folly of our actions; carries asmuch reason
as if flies shoulde thinke, that men take great
care which of them hums sweetest, and which of
them flies nimblest.
(NA, 406-407)

For Cecropia, that is, the deity is, if transcendent at
all, assuredly not immanent. This denial of divine accessi-
bility is in some ways reminiscent of the view of some of
the Reformers, who considered God so superior to a fallen

creature such as man that it is ludicrous to believe in the efficacy of prayer. Pamela, however, does pray, as do the other protagonist-lovers, at one time or another. Cecropia's rigorous position glaringly contrasts with Basilius' superstitious faith, and yet both are rejected as comparable occasions of error in the Arcadias. God is neither readily available for the pettiest human concerns nor utterly remote from human faith. This middle view is expounded by Pamela in her continued refutation of her aunt. Assured that it is "absolutely impossible" that there not be "a force and Wisedome" superior to man, Pamela posits "a Nature of wisdome, goodnes, & providence, which knowes what it doth" (NA, 408), without which the world cannot exist. Further, he is not only the "Creator" of the world, but its "soule and governour" (NA, 410). Pamela goes on to refute, in obvious terms, the concept of the Deus Absconditus (Isaiah xlv. 15), according to which the Godhead, totally incomprehensible and unapproachable, is totally invisible to the undeserving sight of man, a concept which was popular among many of the Reformers:

He is not seene you say, and would you thinke him a God, who might be seene by so wicked eyes, as yours? which might see enough if they were not like such, who for sport-sake willingly hoodwinke themselves to receive blowes the easier.²

(NA, 407)

Not only does Pamela reject the notion of a Deus Absconditus, she denies that man is incapable of comprehending some aspects

of the deity. Cecropia, as an example, is ignorant of God, not because of fallen reason or God's total invisibility and inaccessibility, but because of her self-deception and life of error. Man, that is, despite his natural imperfections and his inability to fathom divine mysteries, is able to "see **enough**" of the providential plan and his own nature to carry him through life. Pamela's arguments are in conformity with the teachings of the men of moderation of Sidney's time, such as Melanchthon and the moderate Protestant Reformers, as well as Erasmus and other Catholic Reformers. In the Arcadias, although man is not totally alone, as Cecropia contends, he does not have access to an ever-present agency, such as Felicia, that will carry him through all the adversities of life, as Basilus hopes of the Delphic Oracle. What emerges is, again, a via media between the attitudes toward providence held by the more extreme Reformers on the one hand, and orthodox Roman Catholicism, on the other.

Sidney's God is no less interested in His creatures than Polo's, but He ministers to them differently. Evidently, He places the full responsibility for human salvation, or felicity, squarely on the individual. We have repeatedly seen that Sidney's lovers are rendered no intermediary or agency on which to depend. To the contrary, they have to withstand and prevail against a powerful satanic force that plagues them with various obstacles and temptations. Unlike

the lovers in the Dianas, further, they are strengthened and enlightened by adversity, as Pamela's prayer indicates:

O all-seeing Light, and eternal Life of all things, to whom nothing is either so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned. . . . Let not injurie . . . triumphe over me. . . . Let calamitie be the exercise, but not the overthrowe of my vertue. . . .
(NA, 382-83)

In the Arcadias, the highest and best things require a struggle to achieve, and this struggle is healthful to the human spirit and conducive to virtue. More importantly, it involves a cooperation between the human and divine wills, for man is most God's creature when he aspires to the highest and truest things. What in the Dianas was portrayed as the hegemony of fortune or fate emerges in the Arcadias as a reaffirmation of the benign offices of providence and of the soundness, rightness, and ultimate felicity of loving purely and virtuously.

One of Sidney's innovations in the pastoral romance is the protagonist whose coming has been decreed by divine will:

. . . what fortune onely southsayers foretold of Musidorus, that all men might see prognosticated in Pyrocles; both Heavens & Earth giving tokens of the coming forth of an Heroicall vertue. The senate house of the planets was at no time to set, for the decreeing of perfectiõ in a man, as at that time all folkes skilful therin did acknowledge: onely love was threatned, and promised to him, and so to his cousin, as both the tempest and haven of their best yeares.³

(NA, 189)

Sidney's protagonist-lovers have been brought into the

world partly to exemplify that the world's greatest hope is "vertue in his sweetest growth" (NA, 197) and partly to justify the ways of love to man:

. . . ^o Love, it is thou that doost it: thou
 changest name up^o name; thou disguisest our
 bodies, and disfigurest our mindes. But in
 deed thou hast reason, for though the wayes
 be foule, the journeyes end is most faire and
 honourable.

(NA, 117)

Pyrocles and Musidorus are therefore exemplifying one of Sidney's most recurrent themes, the notion that love, seemingly derelict and moribund, is in fact merely slumbering prior to a major reawakening. This is, for example, the theme of Certain Sonnets 30, which immediately follows Sidney's translation of Sireno's lament, treated above. The lyric, one of Sidney's best, according to Ringler (p. xliii), begins with a peal of melancholy over love's departure:

Ring out your belles, let mourning shewes be spread,
 For love is dead:
 All love is dead, infected
 With plague of deepe disdain:
 Worth as nought worth rejected,
 And Faith faire scorne doth gaine. . . .
 (ll. 1-6)

Such pessimism surely befits most of the lovers in the Dianas, as well as Sidney's Amphialus, Philisides, and Astrophil. The poem continues in this vein until the very last stanza when a reversal takes over:

Alas, I lie: rage hath this errour bred,
 Love is not dead.
 Love is not dead, but sleepeth
 In her unmatched mind:

Where she his counsell keepeth,
Till due desert she find. . . .
(ll. 31-36)

In the Arcadias, too, human and divine love only seem to slumber. Due to the sufferings of the protagonist-lovers, such love is reaffirmed in the world.

Although not at all a primum mobile in the Arcadias, providence does play a sure and significant role. Despite Sidney's emphasis on individual will and virtuous activity, one encounters in his romances an unmistakable, foredestined, and immutable providential design. We know, for example, that "the destinies have ordained a perpetual flourishing to Arcadia . . ." (OA, 326), and that there is a divinity that shapes the ends of the four princely lovers. As one instance, Philoclea speaks of Pyrocles as "him to whom the gods have joined me" (OA, 303) and is alluded to by him as the one "reserved" for him by the "stars" (NA, 299). Comparable references are made to the other pair of lovers. "Presented" by "heavenly providence" (OA, 325) and "framed" for Pamela by fortune (OA, 39), Musidorus is, like his cousin, spoken of as a figure whose coming hither and going hence have been planned by divine intelligence:

Arcadia, Arcadia was the place prepared to be
the stage of his endless overthrow; Arcadia
was . . . the charmed circle where all his
spirits should for ever be enchanted.
(OA, 105)

There are moments, however, when adversity is so great that no one, including these princes, would conjecture that such a teleology exists. For example, on seeing the

apparently, but not really, beheaded Philoclea, Pyrocles cries out against his own fate, much in the tradition of Montemayor's and Polo's lovers:

Thou hast done thy worst, World, & cursed be thou, and cursed art thou, since to thine owne selfe thou hast done the worst thou couldst doo. . . . Why lived I, alas? Alas why loved I? to die wretched, and to be the example of the heavens hate? And hate, & spare not, for your worst blow is striken.⁴

(NA, 484)

Like Montemayor's lovers, moreover, Pyrocles is driven to despair, even to a serious consideration of suicide, at the prospect of Philoclea's loss. But, just prior to striking himself on the chest with a bar (after being discovered abed with Philoclea in her chamber), Pyrocles utters a significant prayer to Jupiter:

O great maker and great ruler of the world . . . to thee do I sacrifice this blood of mine; and suffer, O Jove, the errors of my youth to pass away therein. . . . Neither be offended that I do abandon this body, to the government of which thou hadst placed me, without thy leave, since how can I know but that thy unsearchable mind is I should so do, since thou hast taken from me all means longer to abide in it?

(OA, 292)

The source of Pyrocles' quandary is cradled in his own words, the "unsearchable mind" of God. In trying to understand divine omniscience, he is committing the same error as Basilius. Why, it may be posed, has Pyrocles been discovered alone with Philoclea? Was it due, as he suggests, to inimical fortune (OA, 291-92)? or to mere chance, as is sometimes pondered in the work (e.g. OA, 390)?

or to the incomprehensible, but beneficent, designs of divine providence?

A careful reading seems to indicate the latter. It is Dametas who discovers the lovers in Philoclea's chamber. Occupied with thoughts about himself and his own dishonor following Pamela's escape with Musidorus, Dametas remembers to search the lodge and happens upon Pyrocles and Philoclea abed together. It is, of course, ironic that the foolish Dametas, a pathetically ludicrous bumpkin, is the one to make this discovery, but he is guided, not by wit or virtue, but "by a far greater constellation than his own" (OA, 272). In other words, it is not inimical fortune that thwarts Pyrocles, but a just providence whose means and ends are undecipherable to man. Were this the world of the Diana, as we have seen, the lover's fate would be dependent upon the vicissitudes of fortune, but, with the Arcadias, a new element has entered the pastoral romance, an inscrutable, but ultimately just, teleology.

Providence, in the Arcadias, though not sufficiently active to diminish or undercut human freedom, is more than a background force. It is an immanent presence in the world, as Pamela declares to Cecropia during the Captivity (NA, 408-410). At various junctures in the work, it suddenly and inexplicably intervenes on behalf of justice and truth. This is quite in contrast with the DE, where divine intervention can be sought out, solicited, and implemented for

the lover's own good. In the Arcadias, providence most serves men when it withholds from them all such intercessors. We have seen that, in the OA, divine intervention is at the root of Dametas' discovery of the lovers. As a result of this discovery, Pyrocles and Philoclea are unable to carry any further their already perilous sensual attraction for each other, just as the sudden attacks of the "clowns" fortuitously prevent various lovers, such as Gynecia and Musidorus, from making any further advancements on their companions.⁵ It is, in fact, another band of rebels that accosts the eloping Musidorus and Pamela, thereby preventing them from fulfilling their marital objective (OA, 306 ff.). When this occurs, Musidorus, like Pyrocles, suspects that the gods are against him (OA, 311). In keeping, however, with Sidney's pattern throughout the Arcadias, Musidorus, although assured that "all the ill fortunes of ill fortune have crossed [his] best framed intent" (OA, 311), refuses to submit to a stoical fatalism. It is his, and Pamela's, eloquence that convinces the "rascal company" to spare their lives and to return them to Basilius for a large reward. Providence also protects Musidorus during his, and Pyrocles', trials at sea, "so pleased it God, who reserved them to greater traverses, both of good and evil fortune. . ." (OA, 10). Other such fortuitous occurrences, such as Philanax' decision to visit Basilius (OA, 285), the "blessed" convergence of Clitophon and Musidorus

(NA, 51), and the very significant, unexpected death of Cecropia's husband and brother to Basilius (NA, 364), are further indications of the ultimately beneficent operations of providence.

Unable, however, to be solicited or predicted, providential intervention is less subtle during the dramatic final scene of the OA. Just after Pyrocles is sentenced to death from a fall from a high tower and Musidorus is to be beheaded (OA, 408) and son (Pyrocles) is restored to father (Euarchus, who has imposed the death penalty on the princes), "a great voice of groaning" (OA, 415) is heard. Basilius suddenly re-emerges from his death-like state, which was only a prolonged slumber caused by the love-philtre. This rebirth allows for the restoration of all and the fruition of the Macedonian, Thessalian, and the Arcadian crowns, as represented by the four princely lovers. The Oracle is thereby fulfilled, although not as its foremost interpreter, Basilius, had envisioned, and the parties are assured that "all had fallen out by the highest providence" (OA, 416). What was at first mistaken for ill fortune has, then, been seen to be the unintelligible operations of an "unreachable ruler" whose every action "hath an everlasting reason for it" (OA, 371) and whose wisdom is "unsearchable" (OA, 413), a ruler who is not above resorting to ill, as well as good, fortune to bring about His designs in the world (OA, 10). His ends justify

His means, for "examining the depth of hearts, [He] hath not his judgement fixed upon the event" (OA, 311), but makes "second causes unwittingly accessarie to [His] determinations" (NA, 70).

The Arcadias, then, do reaffirm the presence and efficacy of a providential scheme in the universe. This is in marked contrast with Montemayor's romance, where fortune was largely depicted as broken off from providence. Sidney, moreover, makes this affirmation without undercutting or limiting the integrity of the human will. In his romances, there exists a profound cooperation between virtuously human and divine wills. For example, "the everlasting justice" uses

ourselves to be the punishers of our faults,
and [make] our own actions the beginning of
our chastisement, that our shame may be the
more manifest, and our repentance follow the
sooner. . . .

(OA, 264)

Nor, as we have seen, does he dismiss human reason as depraved or wicked, as some of the Reformers had done. In the Arcadias, reason is limited, weak in comparison with divine omniscience, and yet, "a worthy man's reason must ever have the masterhood" (OA, 42) over excessive or unvirtuous yearnings. What emerges is a balanced "speaking picture" of providential design wedded with and expressed through human virtue and volition, a picture which is in marked contrast with the precedent of Iberian pastoral

and with the commentaries of some of the Protestant Reformers. Sidney, that is, has added the providential factor to the pastoral romance without subordinating the dignity of man. In this sense, too, his work can be regarded as a response to the philosophical implications of the Dianas. It can be further conjectured that such a response was most welcome to a large number of Sidney's Anglican friends, so welcome that he ventured to rewrite the OA, extending its contours and dimensions to suit a more sustained and more seriously philosophical presentation.

Some mention has been made of the divine mission for which Pyrocles and Musidorus have been prepared. It will be recalled that these cousins, made up of "true natural goodnes,"

determined . . . to see more of the world, &
to imploy those gifts esteemed rare in them,
to the good of mankinde.

(NA, 206)

This, of course, can be accomplished only by one having "a Princes power, against the force of Arcadia" (NA, 163).

Perhaps the most significant bestowal made by the four protagonist-lovers is a lively pattern of virtuous love to be emulated by others, through the agency of art.

We have noted that Sidney provides no Felicia, no instructress in the nature and points of true love, as is encountered in the DE. Nor does he, in the fashion of some of the Reformers, persistently denigrate man for his various imperfections,

for "how weakly they do that rather find fault with what cannot be amended than seek to amend wherein they have been faulty. . ." (OA, 237 n.). It is therefore not surprising that one of Sidney's primary objectives in the Arcadias is the inculcating of virtutis amore, and his method is "that faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with . . . delightfull teaching. . ." (Works, III, 11). His final and ultimate purpose is to counteract the effects of the Fall of Man by increasing the reader's "learning," thereby moving him to higher virtue:

. . . the finall end is, to lead and draw us
to as high a perfection, as our degenerate
soules made worse by their clay-lodgings, can
be capable of.

(Works, III, 11).

It is for this reason that Sidney, in his Defence, refers to the poet as "the right populer Philosopher" (Works, III, 16). The poet's mission is identified with that of the protagonist-lovers in the Arcadias. Both teach virtue and true love. Unlike the lovers in the Dianas, Sidney's four princely lovers are inclined to love mutually quite on their own, for, in the Arcadias, mutual love is the emblem of true virtue. Its ultimate end, moreover, is holy matrimony:

Believe me, man, there is no greater bliss
Than is the quiet joy of loving wife,
Which whoso wants, half of himself doth miss.
Friend without change, playfellow without strife,
Food without fullness, counsel without pride,
Is this sweet doubling of our single life.

(OA, 260)

Pamela's statement exemplifies the very highest degree to which true love can aspire in the Arcadias, a degree at which there is no disparity between virtuous love and the love of virtue. Only in Sidney's romances is man viewed as capable of reaching these heights on his own, and only in these works does he succeed.

NOTES

¹Cecropia's castle, in its remoteness from human concerns, like Basilius' withdrawal from his duties, serves as an emblem of at least one facet of Sidney's pastoral vision. For Sidney, as for Swift later, withdrawal from humanity is not admirable, but divisive, hubristic, and perilous. One also wonders whether Cecropia's "rocke . . . esteemed impregnable" may be a partial allusion to Simon Peter, the "rock" on which the Roman Catholic Church was founded. If so, we may have another suggestion of Felicia in her wider significance. The word "captivity" may also have anti-Catholic resonances.

²Calvin regarded a combination of faith and self-devaluation as necessary to any understanding of God:

". . . a sense of our ignorance, vanity, poverty, infirmity, depravity and corruption, leads us to perceive and acknowledge that in the Lord alone are to be found true wisdom, solid strength, perfect goodness, and unspotted righteousness; and so, by our imperfections, we are excited to a consideration of the perfections of God. Nor can we aspire toward him till we have begun to be displeased with ourselves." (Kerr, p. 4)

³Pyrocles is referred to as "the ornament of the earth, the vessel of all virtue," the gods' "most excellent work" (OA, 209), and "the mirror of mankind" (OA, 210). He and his cousin are "two demigods" (OA, 325) whose mission it is "in unknowne order to see more of the world, & to employ those gifts esteemed rare in them, to the good of mankinde . . ." (NA, 206). The same is said of the sister-princesses, Pamela and Philoclea, who "were reserved for such as were better beloved of the gods" (NA, 510). The latter is God's "perfectest workmanship" and man's "chiefest honour" (OA, 292), "worthy . . . to be the very life of all things" and

"the true **example** of virtue" (OA, 295). Further, she, whom "Nature hath made to be the Load-starre of comfort," (NA, 259), has come into this world as the source of "the world's bliss" (OA, 380). Concomitantly, Pamela is "the lady of us all" (OA, 399) who was "born to be the world's eye" (OA, 200).

⁴Such pessimism is also expressed in OA, 291 where Pyrocles, having been discovered in Philoclea's chamber, characterizes fortune as his eternal enemy.

⁵These attacks are scattered throughout the Arcadias. See, e.g., OA, 123 ff., OA, 201-202, and NA, 310 ff.

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this study, the hypothesis was advanced that a close reading of the Dianas might illuminate Sidney's Arcadias, for each of these pastoral romances contains significant philosophical and theological conclusions which are couched in the language of love. We first noticed that Polo achieved particular philosophical objectives in his continuation of the Diana. Above all, he reaffirmed the integrity of the human intellect. His lovers, unlike those of Montemayor, are not merely passive victims of love, of their own irrational cravings, or of the exigencies of fortune. In this sense, the DE constitutes a real break from the psychological pessimism of Montemayor and many of the earlier Iberian pastoralists. We have proposed that Montemayor may have been conversant with the new climate of Reform, which greatly affected the Iberian peninsula during the first half of the sixteenth century. If so, it is not surprising to encounter in his romance a sense of the bonded will, akin to that stressed

by the Lutherans, and a sense of the folly of lovers and love, akin to that stressed by the Erasmists. Although Bataillon's contention that Montemayor was regarded as a totally heterodox figure may be somewhat overstated, his works, written during the heat of controversy, suspicion, and suppression on the peninsula, aroused considerable interest and censure, presumably for their enigmatic character and probable New Christian authorship. Polo's continuation, then, may be approached more as a refutation than a mere sequel. His primary disagreement with Montemayor involved the latter's psychology; for Polo, man has sovereignty over his passions and is capable of volitional acts of some consequence. Secondly, in the DE, man is not merely the victim of fortune or a pawn in the cosmic scheme. Polo establishes this voluntaristic spirit by subordinating the power of love (which had been magnified in the D) to that of the individual lover and by reaffirming the ultimately good effects of fortune. Nevertheless, in his refutation, Polo is careful to remain within the confines of Catholic orthodoxy. For example, although he rejects Montemayor's notion of the irrationality of lovers and the folly of love, he does not neglect to put limits on the human intellect. In the DE, man is inclined to "engaño" and is therefore in need of guidance and instruction in order to correct it. The source of this guidance is Felicia, who, in some ways, exemplifies the ministry of the Roman Catholic Church.

It is only as a result of her intercession that Polo's lovers are able to achieve the "desengaño" which fruition requires. Even the wise and resourceful Alcida is lost without Felicia's supervision and edification.

Cervantes' Cura had most objected to the remediation scene in the Diana, presumably for its various implications which were not in accord with Church teaching. Montemayor's Felicia was not a guide or an instructress, but a deus ex machina whose operations had little bearing on human living and loving. Her magical intervention implied that Good Works serve little purpose in saving the individual, for, in the Diana, they often result in disappointment, frustration, and bitterness. As a Catholic in accord with the spirit of Post-Tridentine orthodoxy, Polo would have rejected and transformed these implications in the Diana, regardless of Montemayor's exact purport. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Polo did not regard fortune as broken off from providence. Although it often seems to conspire against the lover, fortune is not ultimately inimical because it is under the dominion of the deity. In the DE, that is, providence intervenes in human affairs indirectly through the ministry of the Church, embodied by Felicia. Her agency, moreover, resolves the problematic implications of the relationship between Good Works and Faith raised by Montemayor. Polo's lovers are expected to strike the balance between these twin modes of salvation. Unlike the Reformers,

who subordinated Works to Faith, the Church had advocated a via media between these, and it is this via media which inheres in the DE, because Polo's lovers are expected to behave volitionally only up to the point at which they must make an act of faith in Felicia, their intercessor. From all of this evidence, it seems probable that Polo used the Diana of Montemayor as a point of departure for the promulgation of certain themes and attitudes in accord with Catholic orthodoxy.

Sidney seems to have been responsive to some of these themes and attitudes. For example, in the first book of the OA, he poses a love debate involving the princely cousins. Musidorus, in the tradition of Polo, makes a frontal attack on the putative power, irresistibility, and unavoidability of love and relegates considerable hegemony and control to the human intellect. Polo's views, however, are of little consequence in Arcadia, for Musidorus' arguments are abruptly retracted upon his first falling in love. Further, although affirming the power and glory of love, Sidney presents a view of human volition that accords with neither of the Dianas. He acknowledges the many frailties that humanity is heir to, but, unlike the authors of the Dianas, he exhorts his lovers to overcome these frailties, not by recourse to magic or to an intermediating agency in whom all faith must be placed, but by an act of virtuous willing. We have seen that Polo positions his lovers on the extremes

of the spectrum of love, while Montemayor's lovers tend to converge at the center. Sidney moves the spectrum, as it were, to even extremer points. His bad lovers are not merely victims of perceptual inabilities or a weakness of the will, they are capable of a degree of wickedness, deceit, and violence unencountered in the Dianas. His good lovers, by contrast, are truly ideal figures who provide an inspiring and instructive example for all lovers. In the Arcadias, it is virtue and love, not an external agency, that promote fruition and felicity in this world.

Sidney's lovers not only lack all access to an inter-mediating agency, they must actually prevail against and overcome various obstacles, all of which culminate in Cecropia, the malicious but formidable witch. This situation exemplifies two facets of Sidney's thought — his Protestant persuasion that the individual must work out his own salvation alone, and his absorbing disdain for the Roman Catholic Church as a political force in the world. According to this reading, Cecropia is identified with, not only the pilgrim's lack of access to a benevolent agency in the world, but, like Spenser's Archimago, with the Church Militant. In this sense, only, was Sidney in agreement with Montemayor's dictum that the best lovers suffer most.

In exalting both the human will and divine providence, Sidney does not seem to be in agreement with many of the

Reformers, who had severely restricted the role of the will in regeneration, on the assumption that such a belief encroaches on the sovereignty of God. Sidney's more moderate position is reminiscent of Melanchthon's concept of "synergism." Not wishing to see the human will left powerless as a result of the doctrine of predestination, Melanchthon abandoned the decree of eternal reprobation and placed the responsibility for sin, not on man's nature, but on the individual will. As in the Arcadias, man is not merely a passive spectator of his own discontent and damnation, he has a real measure of responsibility for his spiritual condition; unless there is consent on the part of the individual, there can be no effective regeneration. This stress, then, on the efficacy of human actions without a commensurate subordination of the power and sovereignty of the deity is most suggestive of the middle way charted by Sidney in the Arcadias. As we have seen, Sidney's methodology is to resolve by affirmation, not by denial. In both of his romances, man is viewed as both responsible for many of his actions and capable of personal improvement. Simultaneously, he is regarded as part of a providential scheme over which he has little scrutiny or control. By assuming this compromise position, Sidney was able to resolve one of the more disturbing problems raised in the Dianas: the conflict between the capacity of the human intellect and the efficacy of divine

grace. On their own merit, then, the Arcadias constitute a work of great influence and achievement; seen, however, from the point of view of the two Dianas, they are, somehow, even more than that.

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